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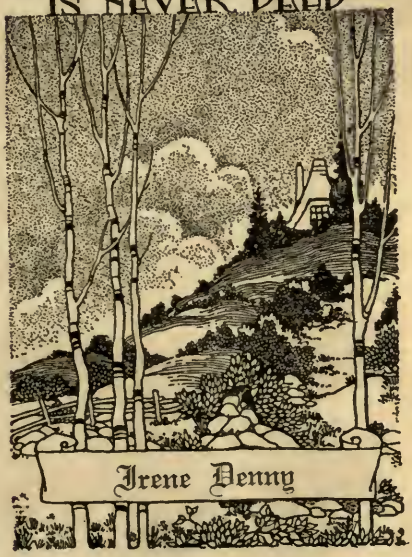

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VOLUME XXVI

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VOLTAIRE

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VOL. III

FRANCE, 1384 — EUROPE, 1599

LIST OF PLATES

XXVI

	PAGE
The Siege of Orleans . .	*Frontispiece*
Turgot	68
Louis XI.	136
Charles V. and Pizarro	269

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXV.

THE BLACK PRINCE, DON PEDRO THE CRUEL, KING OF CASTILE, AND THE CONSTABLE DU GUESCLIN.

THE kingdom of Castile was in almost as miserable a condition as France. Peter, or Don Pedro, surnamed the Cruel, whom historians have represented as a merciless tiger that thirsted after human blood, and even felt a ferocious joy in spilling it, sat upon the throne. I dare affirm that there does not exist such a character in nature. Sanguinary men are only such in the transports of revenge, or in the severity of that horrid policy which considers cruelty as a necessary measure; but no man ever spills blood merely for his pleasure.

This prince ascended the throne of Castile a minor, and under very unfavorable circumstances. His father, Alphonso XI., had had seven bastards by his mistress, Eleonora de Gusman. These bastards had such powerful settlements left them that they defied the royal authority; and their mother, who had still more power than they, insulted the queen-dow-

ager. In short, the kingdom of Castile was divided into two parties, one of which sided with the queen-mother, and the other with Eleonora de Gusman; so that when the young king came of age, he found himself obliged to maintain a civil war against the faction of the bastards. He engaged them in several battles, proved victorious, and at last put Eleonora to death, to satisfy his mother's revenge. Thus far he might be termed valiant but too severe. He afterwards espoused Blanche of Bourbon, and the first news he heard concerning his wife, upon her arrival at Valladolid, was that she had fallen in love with the grand master of St. Jago, one of those very bastards who had waged war against him. I am sensible that intrigues of this nature are seldom authenticated by proofs, and that a prudent king ought rather to pretend ignorance in such matters, than blindly follow the dictates of revenge; but, after all, the king was excusable, since there is to this day a family in Spain which boasts of being descended from this adulterous commerce.

Queen Blanche had at least the imprudence to enter into too close connection with the faction of the bastards, her husband's enemies. Can we then be surprised that the king left her in a castle, and consoled himself with other amours?

Don Pedro, therefore, had, at the same time, the king of Aragon and his rebellious brothers to encounter. Victory however still followed him, and it must be confessed, he made a cruel use of it.

He seldom forgave, and his relatives, who were found in arms against him, were sacrificed to his resentment. In short, he ordered the grand master of St. Jago to be put to death. This action procured him the name of "Cruel," while John, king of France, who had assassinated his constable and four Norman lords, was called John the Good.

During these troubles, his wife, Blanche, died. She had been judged culpable, and, of course, it was said she died by poison. But let me once more observe that we should be cautious how we give credit to a charge of this nature, without sufficient proof.

It was, doubtless, the interest of the king's enemies to spread a report about Europe of his having poisoned his wife. Henry de Transtamare, one of the bastards, who had the death of a mother and a brother to revenge, and what was still more, his own interest to support, took advantage of this opportunity. France was at that time infested by those united banditti called Malandrini, who did all the mischief which Edward of England had not been able to do. This Henry de Transtamare entered into a treaty with Charles V. to rid France of those freebooters, by taking them into his service. The king of Aragon, always an enemy to the sovereign of Castile, promised to grant them a free passage through his dominions. Bertrand Du Guesclin, a knight of great reputation, who had only fought for an opportunity to signalize himself, engaged

the Malandrins to acknowledge him as their chief, and follow him into Castile. This enterprise of Du Guesclin had been considered as a holy action, which he performed, as he himself acknowledged, for the good of his soul. The holiness of this action consisted in leading a band of robbers, to assist a rebel against his lawful, though cruel, sovereign.

It is well known that Du Guesclin, in passing by Avignon, being in want of money to pay his troops, obliged the pope to give him a large sum for the safety of himself and his court. This was at that time a necessary extortion, but I dare not mention the name which would have been given it had it not been done by one who commanded a troop that might pass for a little army.

1366 — The bastard Henry, assisted by these troops, which had increased in their march, and likewise supported by the king of Aragon, began by causing himself to be proclaimed king in the town of Burgos. Don Pedro, finding himself thus attacked by the French, applied for assistance to the Black Prince, their conqueror. This prince, who was sovereign of Guienne, and consequently must have beheld with a jealous eye any success of the French arms in Spain, determined by interest and honor, espoused the juster side, and marched to the assistance of Pedro, with his Gascons and some English; and soon after was fought, on the banks of the Ebro, near the village of Navarrete, the bloody battle which is called by that name, between Don

Pedro and the Black Prince on one side, and Henry de Transtamare and the constable Du Guesclin on the other. This battle proved more glorious to the Black Prince than even those of Crécy and Poitiers had done; because here the field was longer disputed. In a word, his victory was complete; for he took Bertrand Du Guesclin and Marshal d'Andrehen prisoners, who would surrender to no one but him.

Henry de Transtamare, after the loss of this battle, was obliged to fly into Aragon; and the Black Prince resettled Don Pedro on the throne. Don Pedro, on this occasion, exerted the unhappy right of revenge to its full extent, and treated several of the rebels with all that severity which the laws of government authorize under the name of justice. The Black Prince, who had the glory of restoring him to his crown, had also that of putting a stop to his cruelties: and indeed this prince is, next to Alfred, the hero whom the English hold most in veneration.

As soon as the supporter of Don Pedro was withdrawn, and Bertrand Du Guesclin had paid his ransom, the bastard of Transtamare revived the party of the malcontents, and Du Guesclin, at the private instigation of the French king, Charles V., began to raise new troops.

The count de Transtamare had on his side Aragon, the rebels of Castile, and the aid of France; while not only the greater part of the Castilians, but also

Portugal and the Moors of Spain, declared for Don Pedro, who only gained fresh odium by these new allies, without reaping much real service from them.

Henry and Du Guesclin, having no longer the superior genius and fortune of the Black Prince to encounter, gained a complete victory over Pedro in the neighborhood of Toledo, in 1368; who, after this defeat, retired for safety to a castle, where he was soon besieged by the victors, and, endeavoring to make his escape, was taken prisoner by a French gentleman, named le Begue de Vilaines. Being conducted to this knight's tent, the first object which met his eyes was the count de Transtamare. It is said that, transported with rage at this sight, he flew, disarmed as he was, upon him, and this brother — so far is the truth — with a poniard he held in his hand, instantly put an end to his life.

Thus perished Don Pedro, at the age of thirty-four; and with him ended the Castilian race. His mortal foe succeeded him on the throne, without any other right than that of murder: and from him descended the kings of Castile, who afterward reigned in Spain till the sceptre of that kingdom was transferred to the house of Austria, by the marriage of Queen Joan of Castile with Philip the Handsome, father of the famous Charles V.

CHAPTER LXVI.

FRANCE AND ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES V.

THE policy of Charles V. saved France from ruin; and the necessity of weakening the conquerors Edward III. and his son, the Black Prince, gives a show of justice to his procedure. He took advantage of the father's old age, and the son's state of ill health, who was afflicted with dropsy, of which he died in 1371. His first step was to sow dissension between the Black Prince, sovereign of Guienne, and his vassals; he eluded the performance of his treaties, and refused to pay the remainder of his father's ransom, under various plausible pretences. He entered into connection with the king of Navarre, Charles the Bad, who had so many large possessions in France; he likewise stirred up the new king of Scotland, Robert Stuart, against England; he restored order and regularity in the finances, and made the people contribute to the necessary supplies without murmuring; in fine, without stirring out of his cabinet, he found means to have as much success as King Edward, who had crossed the sea, and gained such signal victories.

As soon as he perceived all the springs of his political machine well secured, and in readiness for action, he made one of those bold strokes which might pass for rashness in politics, if not justified

by well-concerted measures and a successful issue. In 1369 he sent a knight and a judge of Toulouse to summon the Black Prince to appear before him in the court of peers, to give an account of his conduct.

This was acting as sovereign judge of the conqueror of his father and grandfather, who was still in possession of Guienne and the surrounding territories, in absolute sovereignty, by right of conquest and the most solemn treaty. For he not only summoned the prince as his subject, but an arret of the parliament was likewise issued in 1370, confiscating the province of Guienne and all the places that appertained to the English in France. The custom of those times was to declare war by a herald at arms; but on this occasion one of the king's domestic servants was sent to London to perform the ceremony — a plain proof that Edward was no longer in a situation to be feared.

The irregularity of these proceedings was in some measure dignified by the valor and abilities of Bertrand Du Guesclin, now constable of France, and more especially by the good order which Charles had established throughout his whole kingdom, which proved the truth of this maxim in public affairs, that "where the profit is, there is the glory."

The Black Prince, who was every day declining in his health, was no longer able to take the field: his father could send him but very weak supplies, and the English, who had before been everywhere vic-

torious, were now beaten on all sides. Bertrand Du Guesclin, though he did not obtain such signal victories as those of Crécy and Poitiers, made exactly such a campaign, as that by which in these latter times Marshal Turenne gained the character of the greatest general in Europe. He fell upon the English settled about Maine and Avignon, defeated all their parties, one after the other, and with his own hand took their general, Grandison, prisoner. He added Poitou and Saintonge to the French dominions, and took all the towns belonging to the English, either by force of arms, or intrigues. The very seasons themselves seemed to fight for Charles. A formidable fleet of English ships, which was destined to make a descent upon the coasts of France, was several times put back by contrary winds; and temporary truces, artfully managed, prepared the way for future successes.

Charles V. who, twenty years before, had not money sufficient to pay his guards, now saw himself master of five armies, and a fine fleet. His ships of war insulted the English on their own coasts, landing troops and ravaging the country, while England, who had now lost her warrior king, sat, a tame spectator of these insults. She had now nothing left in France but the city of Bordeaux, Calais, and a few other fortified towns.

France lost her Bertrand Du Guesclin in 1380. Everyone knows what honors his sovereign paid to his memory. He was the first, I think, that had

a funeral oration pronounced in his praise, and none but himself and Marshal Turenne were ever interred in the church designed for the burying-place of the kings of France. His body was carried to the grave with the same ceremonies as those of crowned heads, and was followed by four princes of the blood; his horses, agreeably to the customs of those times, were presented, in the church, to the bishop who performed the funeral service, who laid his hand upon them and blessed them. These circumstances are of no further importance than that they serve to show the spirit of chivalry, since the regard and veneration paid to great knights who had rendered themselves famous by their feats in arms, extended even to the horses who fought under them in battle.

Charles V. did not long survive Du Guesclin. He is said to have died by a slow poison, which had been given him ten years before, and ended his life at the age of forty-four. The real poison which despatched Charles V. was a bad constitution.

No one is ignorant of the wise ordinance published by this prince, wherein the time of a king of France coming of age was fixed at fourteen. This wise ordinance, which, however, proved insufficient to prevent the subsequent troubles, was enrolled at a bed of justice held in 1374.

Charles desired, by this ordinance, to eradicate the ancient abuse of private wars between the lords, an abuse which had hitherto passed as a law of

the state, and which, as soon as he came to be master, he took care to prohibit, and even forbade the wearing of arms; but this was one of those laws which it was impossible at that time to put in execution.

The treasures which he amassed during his reign are said to have amounted to the sum of seventeen million livres of the money then current. It is certain that he had accumulated great riches, and that all the fruits of his economy were dissipated by his brother, the duke of Anjou, in the unfortunate expedition to Naples, of which I have already spoken.

After the decease of Edward III., the conqueror of France, and of Charles V., the restorer of that kingdom, it was plainly seen that the superiority of a nation depends wholly upon those who are at the helm of government.

Richard II., son of the Black Prince, succeeded his grandfather, Edward III., at the age of eleven; and, some time after, Charles VI. came to the crown of France, at the age of twelve. These two minorities proved unhappy; but England had the first and greatest reason to complain.

We have seen the frenzy and madness which possessed the peasants of France under King John, and how cruelly they revenged themselves for the state of slavery they had been in, and the miseries they had suffered, upon those gentlemen who had been their oppressors. The same madness seized the English; and the war of Rome with the Slavs seemed revived

in this country. A tiler and a priest did as much mischief to England as the quarrels between the king and parliament are capable of producing in that kingdom. These two incendiaries assembled the people of three counties, and easily found means to persuade them that the rich had long enough enjoyed the goods of this world, and that it was now time for the poor to take their revenge. They led them directly to London, plundered a part of the city, and caused the archbishop of Canterbury and the high treasurer to be beheaded. It is true that this madness ended in the death of their chiefs and the total dispersion of the mutineers: but these storms, which were common in Europe, sufficiently showed what kind of government prevailed at that time. They were as yet unacquainted with the true end of politics, which consists in subjecting all degrees and orders, in a state, to the public good.

It may be said also, that the English at that time did not better understand the limits of their kings' prerogatives, nor of the privileges of their parliaments. Richard II., at the age of eighteen, aimed at being despotic, and his subjects wanted to be free. This soon produced a civil war. In other countries a civil war almost always proves fatal to the malcontents, but in England the king generally smarts for it. Richard, after having maintained a ten years' contest with his subjects about authority, saw himself at length abandoned even by his own party. His cousin, the duke of Lancaster, grandson of the late

Edward III., and who had for a long time been banished out of the kingdom, returned with only three ships. Indeed he stood in need of no greater assistance; for, the instant he arrived, the whole nation declared for him; and Richard requested only that they would grant him his life and a pension.

A parliament was called, in which this prince was solemnly deposed and confined in the Tower, in 1399, whence he sent the duke of Lancaster the ensigns of royalty, together with a writing, signed by his own hand, in which he acknowledged himself altogether unqualified to reign, as indeed he was, since weak enough to sign such a declaration.

Thus did this one century behold two kings of England, Edward II. and Richard II., the emperor Wenceslaus, and Pope John XXIII., all four tried, condemned, and deposed, in the most solemn manner and with all the formalities of justice.

The English Parliament, having deposed their king, issued a decree, importing that, in case of any attempt being made to restore him, he should be adjudged worthy of death. Accordingly, upon the first rising that was made in his favor, eight ruffians went and assassinated the unhappy monarch in his prison in 1400. But Richard defended his life far better than he had his throne. He wrested a pole-axe from one of the assassins, with which he laid four of the number dead at his feet before he fell himself. The duke of Lancaster now ascended the throne under the name of Henry IV., during whose

reign England neither enjoyed tranquillity, nor was in a condition to undertake anything against France: but his son, Henry V., brought about the greatest revolution since the time of Charlemagne.

CHAPTER LXVII.

CHARLES VI. OF FRANCE, AND THE INVASION OF THAT KINGDOM BY HENRY V. OF ENGLAND.

Part of the care which Charles V. had taken to re-establish France proved the means of hastening its subversion. The immense treasures he had amassed were dissipated, and the taxes he imposed had alienated the minds of his people. It has been observed that this prince expended fifteen hundred marks of gold annually for the maintenance of his household; and his brothers, who were regents of the kingdom during the minority of Charles VI., who came to the crown before he was thirteen, expended more than seven thousand, and yet that prince was almost in want of common necessaries. These minute details are not to be slighted, since they frequently prove the secret springs of ruin in most states, as well as in private families.

Louis of Anjou, one of the uncles of Charles VI., and the same who had been adopted by Joan I., queen of Naples, not satisfied with having embezzled his pupil's treasure, loaded the people with exactions. Paris, Rouen, and most of the cities rose up in arms; and the same fury which afterward destroyed Paris

in the time of the League in the minority of Louis XIV. appeared under Charles VI. The public and private punishments inflicted on this occasion were as cruel as the insurrection had been outrageous. The great papal schism which prevailed at that time, and of which we have already treated, contributed to increase their disorders. The popes of Avignon, who were acknowledged by the French court, completed the impoverishment of this kingdom by all the arts which avarice could invent, under the disguise of religion. The people, however, flattered themselves, that when the king came of age he would make amends for all these evils by a more happy government.

He had in person, in 1384, avenged the count of Flanders, his vassal, on the rebellious Flemings, whom the English still continued to support; and took advantage of the troubles which distracted that unhappy island during the reign of Richard II. He also fitted out a fleet of twelve hundred ships, to make a descent on the English coast. This prodigious number of ships is by no means incredible; St. Louis had a much larger fleet. It is true they were only vessels for transporting troops, but the ease with which they equipped these large fleets plainly shows that they had a much greater quantity of timber for building than we have at present, and that they were not deficient in point of industry. The jealousy which prevailed between the king's uncles put a stop to the sailing of this fleet; and at last

it only served as a proof of the resources France might have been provided with under a good administration, since, notwithstanding the great quantity of money which the duke of Anjou carried out of the kingdom with him in his unhappy expedition to Naples, it was still able to undertake such great enterprises.

At length there seemed to be some respite from the confusion which had perplexed the kingdom. The king set out for Brittany to chastise the duke, of whom France had so much reason to complain; when, unfortunately, at this very juncture, he was seized with a terrible frenzy. This distemper began with a drowsiness, followed by a loss of understanding, and ending at length in a fit of madness. When he was first seized with this fit, he killed four men, and continued striking everyone about him, till at length, exhausted by these convulsive motions, he fell into a deep lethargy.

I am not in the least surprised that all France thought him poisoned and bewitched. There have been instances even in this present age, notwithstanding its improvement in knowledge, of popular prejudices altogether as unjust. His brother, the duke of Orleans, had married Valentine of Milan, and she was accused of having been the cause of the king's misfortune, which proves that the French, who were at that time very ignorant, thought the Italians had more knowledge than themselves. This suspicion was some time afterward increased

by an adventure entirely agreeable to the rudeness of those times.

1393—There was a masquerade at court, in which the king appeared in the dress of a satyr, dragging four other satyrs after him in chains. Their dresses were made of linen, daubed over with rosin, to which they had fastened cords of flax and hemp. The duke of Orleans unfortunately thrust his torch against one of those habits, which took fire in an instant. The four lords, who were the four satyrs in the masque, were burned, and the king's life was with great difficulty preserved by the happy presence of mind of his sister-in-law, the duchess of Berry, who wrapped him all over in her mantua. This accident caused a return of one of his fits; from which he might probably have been relieved by immediate bleeding, bathing, and a proper regimen; but, instead of that, they sent for a sorcerer from Montpellier. The sorcerer came, and the king appeared a little better, which was instantly ascribed to the power of magic. But, by frequent relapses, the disorder was rendered so inveterate as to become incurable. To complete the misfortunes of France, the king had some intervals of sanity, otherwise they might have provided for the government of the kingdom; thus the little share of reason he enjoyed proved more fatal than even his fits: the estates were never assembled, nor was the least regulation made in the public administration. The king still continued king, intrusting his despised authority

and the care of his person sometimes to his brother, and at other times to his uncles, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry. It was still a further addition to the misfortunes of the state, that these princes had considerable inheritances in the kingdom; in due course Paris became the theatre of a civil war, sometimes privately, sometimes openly carried on. Factions prevailed everywhere, and even the university pretended to a share in the government.

1407 — Everybody knows that John, duke of Burgundy, caused his cousin, the duke of Orleans, to be assassinated in the Rue Barbette. The king had neither understanding nor power enough to bring the aggressor to justice. However, the duke of Burgundy thought it necessary to take out letters of grace, after which he came to court and triumphed in his crime. He assembled all the princes and grandees; and, in the presence of them all, Dr. John Petit not only justified the murder of the duke of Orleans, but also established the doctrine of homicide, which he founded upon the example of those assassinations we read of in the historical books of the holy writ. Thus did this preacher impudently erect into a doctrine what those books only deliver to us as an event, instead of acting agreeably to the duties of his calling, by telling men that a murder related in the Holy Scripture is as truly detestable as if it was found in the annals of savages, or in the times of which I am speaking. This evil doctrine

was condemned, as we have seen, at the Council of Constance, but has nevertheless been since revived.

It was at this time that the marshal de Boucicaut suffered Genoa to be lost, which had put itself under the protection of France. The French were all massacred there, as they had been before in Sicily. The flower of the nobility, who had gone to signalize themselves in Hungary against the Turkish emperor, Bajazet, were all cut off in the fatal battle lost by the Christians. But these misfortunes abroad were small in comparison with those which befell the state at home.

Isabella of Bavaria, Charles's queen, had a party in Paris, the duke of Burgundy had his, and the children of the late duke of Orleans had another, which was very considerable. The poor king alone had no party. But what will serve to show us how important the city of Paris was at that time, and what influence it had on the other parts of the kingdom is, that the duke of Burgundy, who to the province of which he bore the title, added all Flanders and Artois, made it the principal object of his ambition to become master of Paris. His faction was called the Burgundians, and that of Orleans went by the name of the Armagnacs, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to the duke of Orleans, son to him who had been assassinated in Paris. Whichever of these two factions had the upper hand never let slip any opportunity of hanging, murdering, or burning all of the opposite party;

so that no person was sure of his life for a day together. They fought in the streets, in the houses, in the fields, and even in the churches.

1415 — Here was a very favorable opportunity for England to recover her ancient patrimony in France, as well as those ceded to her by treaties; and Henry V., who was a prince of equal courage and prudence, did not suffer it to pass unnoticed, but negotiated and made preparations for war at the same time. He made a descent into Normandy with an army of nearly fifty thousand men, took Harfleur, and advanced into the midst of a country torn in pieces by factions, and unable to resist him; but three-fourths of his army were carried off by contagious dysentery. Nevertheless, this great invasion served to unite all parties against the English; even Burgundy himself, though he had already been treating privately with the king of England, sent five hundred men in arms, with some cross-bow men, to the assistance of his country. All the nobility mounted on horseback, and the commoners marched under their banners: so that Constable d'Albret soon saw himself at the head of sixty thousand fighting men.

The success that formerly waited on Edward III. now followed Henry V., but the principal resemblance was in the battle of Agincourt, which was in every respect like that of Crécy. The English won it almost as soon as it began. Their tall bows, which were almost the height of a man, and which

they made use of with surprising strength and skill, soon determined the victory in their favor; but they had neither cannons nor fusils, which is another corroborating proof that there were none used at the battle of Crécy. Perhaps these bows are much more formidable weapons. I have seen some of them that would carry farther than a fusil; and they may be used with much more despatch, and last longer. However, they are now entirely out of use. It may be further observed that the gendarmerie of France fought on foot at the battles of Agincourt, Crécy, and Poitiers; whereas, had they been mounted, they would in all probability have formed an invincible corps. There happened on this memorable day a thing most horrible even in war. While the armies were still engaged, some militia of Picardy came behind the English to plunder their camp; upon which Henry ordered his men to kill all the prisoners they had taken. They were accordingly put to the sword; and after this the English took fourteen thousand men, whose lives they spared. Seven princes of France were slain this day, together with the constable. Five princes were taken prisoners, and above ten thousand Frenchmen were left on the field of battle.

It would seem that after so decisive a victory, Henry had nothing to do but to march to Paris, and complete the conquest of a divided, exhausted, and ruined kingdom. But these very ruins were somewhat fortified; for it is a certain fact that from

this battle of Agincourt, which threw all France into mourning, and which cost the English only three persons of any note, the victors reaped no other fruit than glory. Henry was obliged to return to England, in order to raise money and fresh troops.

The spirit of giddiness and inconstancy, which had seized the French nation as well as their king, did what the defeat of Agincourt had not been able to do. Two dauphins were already dead, and the third, who was afterward Charles VII., and at that time was only sixteen years of age, endeavored to save the remains of this great wreck. The queen, his mother, had extorted letters patent from her husband, by which she was intrusted with the reins of government. She was a covetous and ambitious woman, and greatly addicted to gallantry. The treasure of which she had plundered the kingdom and her husband, she had carefully deposited in several places, particularly in the churches. The dauphin and the Armagnac faction, who had discovered this money, made use of it for the pressing wants of the public. To this affront which she received from her son, the king added another of a more sensible nature. One evening as he was going to pay a visit to the queen in her own apartment, he met the lord of Boisbourdon coming out; he instantly ordered him to be apprehended, put to the torture, and afterward sewn up in a sack and thrown into the Seine. The queen was sent prisoner to Blois, and thence to Tours, without

being suffered to speak with her husband. It was this accident, and not the battle of Agincourt which placed the crown of France on the king of England's head. The queen implored the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, who embraced this opportunity of establishing his own authority on these new disasters of his country.

The duke released the queen from her confinement at Tours, ravaged the country all the way he marched, and at length concluded a league with the king of England. Without this alliance there would have been no revolution. Henry V. at length assembled an army of twenty-five thousand men, and landed a second time in Normandy. He advanced toward Paris, while John, duke of Burgundy, presented himself before the gates of this city, where a poor senseless king remained shut up, a prey to every kind of sedition. The duke of Burgundy's faction in one day massacred Constable d'Armagnac, the archbishops of Rheims and Tours, five prelates, the abbot of St. Denis, and forty magistrates. The queen and the duke of Burgundy made their triumphal entry into Paris in the midst of all this blood and slaughter. The dauphin was obliged to fly beyond the Loire, and Henry V. was already master of all Normandy. In 1418 the king's party, as well as those of the queen, the duke of Burgundy, and the dauphin, were all in treaty at the same time with the king of England; treachery and dissimulation were equal on all sides. The young dauphin,

who was at that time governed by Tanguy du Châtel, at length, in 1419, contrived that unhappy interview with the duke of Burgundy on the bridge of Montereau. Each of them came attended by ten knights; and Tanguy du Châtel slew the duke of Burgundy in the presence of the dauphin: thus was the murder of the duke of Orleans avenged by another murder, which was the more detestable because accompanied by violation of public faith.

One would be almost tempted to believe that this murder was not premeditated, so very badly had they taken their measures for supporting the consequences. Philip the Good, the new duke of Burgundy, who succeeded his father, became of course an enemy to the dauphin, through duty as well as politics. The queen, his mother, whom he had incensed, became as implacable as a step-mother; while the king of England, taking advantage of these horrid circumstances, proclaimed that God led him by the hand to punish the iniquitous French. In 1420 Queen Isabella and the new duke of Burgundy, Philip, concluded a peace with Henry at Troyes, which proved more fatal to France than all the preceding wars had done; and by which they gave Catherine, daughter of Charles VI., in marriage to the king of England, together with France for her dowry.

It was at the same time agreed that Henry should be acknowledged king, but that he should bear only the title of regent during the remainder of the

unhappy life of the king of France, who was now altogether childish. In fine, it was determined by the contract, that the person styling himself dauphin, should be pursued with the utmost vigor. Queen Isabella conducted her wretched husband and her daughter to Troyes, where the marriage was consummated. Henry, now king of France, made his entry peaceably into Paris, and governed without opposition; while Charles VI. continued shut up with a few domestics in the Hôtel de St. Paul, and Queen Isabella began already to drink deep of the cup of repentance.

Philip, duke of Burgundy, appeared before the two kings at the Hôtel de St. Paul, when the few remaining grandees of the kingdom were assembled, and solemnly demanded justice for the murder of his father. The procurator-general of Burgundy, Nicholas Raulin, and a doctor of the university of Paris, named John Larcher, preferred articles of accusation against the dauphin. The first president of Paris, with some few deputies of his body, assisted at this assembly.

The advocate-general, Marigni, made a speech against the dauphin, not as a presumptive heir and defender of the crown, but as against a common assassin. Upon this the parliament summoned the dauphin to appear at the marble table, as it is called. This is a large table, which was used in the time of St. Louis, for receiving the fines paid for vassalage, at the tower of the Louvre, and which ever

after remained as a kind of mark of jurisdiction. But the dauphin not appearing, he was condemned for contumacy.

It was a very nice and difficult question to decide whether this court had the power of judging the dauphin, whether the Salic law could be subverted on this occasion, and whether, as no vengeance had been taken for the murder of the duke of Orleans, the death of his murderer could claim revenge. We know that long after this, Philip II. of Spain caused his own son to be murdered, and that Cosmo I., duke of Florence, put to death one of his sons who had murdered the other. This fact is undoubtedly true, and Varillas has been wrongfully accused of falsity in this relation. President de Thou plainly proves that he was informed of all the circumstances upon the spot; and in our time Czar Peter the Great condemned one of his sons to death. Dreadful examples! but in which the son's inheritance was not given away to a foreigner.

The dauphin retired into Anjou, where he led the life of an exile. Henry V., king of France and England, returned to London in order to raise fresh supplies and new troops. It was not to the interest of the people of England, who have a strong passion for liberty, that their king should be master of France, as in this case their country would be in danger of becoming a province to a foreign kingdom; and, after draining itself to establish its prince in Paris, would have seen itself reduced to

slavery by the forces of that very country which it had conquered, and which its king had in his hands.

However, Henry V. soon returned to Paris with more authority than ever: he had treasures and armies at his command, and was moreover in the prime of his life; from all of which it was probable that the crown of France was likely to be transferred forever to the house of Lancaster. But death cut short these mighty hopes and successes. Henry was seized with a fistula. In these days of greater knowledge he might possibly have been cured, but the ignorance of the times was the cause of his death; and he expired, in 1422, at the castle of Vincennes, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. His body lay in state at St. Denis, after which it was carried to England and deposited at Westminster among the kings of England.

Soon after Charles VI., who had been suffered, out of compassion, to enjoy the empty title of king, ended his wretched days, after having passed nearly thirty years in almost continual fits of madness, the unhappiest of kings, and king of the unhappiest people of Europe.

The duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V., was the only person who attended his funeral. There was not one of the great lords present at the ceremony: some of them had been slain at the battle of Agincourt, the remainder were prisoners in England; and the duke of Burgundy would not yield precedency to the duke of Bedford: but he was soon

after obliged to give way in everything, for Bedford was declared regent of France: and Henry VI., son of Henry V., a minor only nine months old, was proclaimed king at Paris, and at London. The city of Paris even sent deputies to London to take the oath of allegiance to this infant.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

FRANCE IN THE TIME OF CHARLES VII.

This inundation which overspread France from England was much the same as that which happened to England from the French, in the time of Louis VIII., but it was of longer duration, and more violent. Charles VII. had his kingdom to recover, inch by inch. He had to fight against the duke of Bedford, who was as absolute as Henry V., and against the duke of Burgundy, now one of the most powerful princes in Europe, by having annexed Hainault, Brabant, and Holland to his former domains. Besides, Charles had as much to fear from his friends as his foes; most of them insulting his misfortunes to such a degree that the count de Richemont, his constable, and brother of the duke of Brittany, caused two of his favorites to be strangled.

We may judge of the deplorable situation to which Charles was reduced, from the necessity he was under of making the silver mark pass for ninety livres in the places subject to his obedience, instead of a half livre, as in the time of Charlemagne.

He was likewise soon obliged to have recourse to

another much stranger expedient, namely, to a miracle. A gentleman upon the frontiers of Lorraine, whose name was Baudricourt, happened to meet with a young servant wench at an inn in the town of Vaucouleurs, whom he thought a fit person to act the character of a female warrior and a prophetess. Joan of Arc — which was the name of this heroine — whom the vulgar look upon as a shepherdess, was in fact only a tavern girl; "of a robust make," as Monstrelet says, "and who could ride without a saddle, and perform other manly exercises which young maidens are unaccustomed to." She was made to pass for a young shepherdess of eighteen; and yet it is evident from her confession that she was at that time twenty-seven. She had courage and wit sufficient to engage in this delicate enterprise, which afterward became a heroic one, and suffered herself to be carried before the king at Bourges, where she was examined by matrons, who took care to find her a virgin, and by certain doctors of the university, and some members of the parliament, who all without hesitation declared her inspired. Whether they were really imposed upon, or were crafty enough to adopt the project, the vulgar swallowed the bait, and that was sufficient.

The English were at that time, in 1428, besieging Orleans, Charles's last resource, and were upon the point of making themselves masters of the town, when this amazon in man's dress, directed by able officers, undertook to throw reinforcements into the

town. Previous to her attempt she harangued the soldiers, as one sent from God, and inspired them with that enthusiastic courage peculiar to all who imagine they behold the Deity Himself fighting their cause. After this she put herself at their head, delivered Orleans, beat the English, foretold to Charles that she would see him consecrated at Rheims, fulfilled her promise, sword in hand, and assisted at the coronation, holding the standard with which she had so bravely fought.

These rapid victories obtained by a girl, with all the appearances of a miracle, and the king's coronation, which conciliated the public respect to his person, had almost restored the lawful prince, and expelled the foreign pretender, when the instrument of all these wonders, Joan of Arc, was wounded and taken prisoner in 1430, while defending Compiègne. Such a person as the Black Prince would have honored and respected her courage; but the regent, Bedford, thought it necesary to detract from it, in order to revive the drooping spirits of the English. She had pretended to perform a miracle, and Bedford pretended to believe her a witch.

My principal end is always to observe the spirit of the times, since it is that which directs the great events of the world.

The university of Paris presented a complaint against Joan, accusing her of heresy and witchcraft. Therefore this university either believed what the regent would have it believe; or if it did not believe

it, it was guilty of most infamous baseness. This heroine, who was worthy of that miracle which she had feigned, was tried at Rouen by Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, by five other French bishops, and one English bishop, assisted by a Dominican monk, vicar to the Inquisition, and by the doctors to the university; who declared her "a superstitious prophetess of the devil, a blasphemer against God and His saints, and one who had been guilty of numberless errors against the faith of Christ." As such she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to fast on bread and water. She made a reply to her judges, which, in my opinion, is worthy of eternal memory. She was asked why she dared to assist at the consecration of Charles, as his standard-bearer. "Because," answered she, "it is but just that the person who shared in the toil should partake likewise of the honor."

Some time after this, being accused of having again put on men's clothes, which had been left in her way purposely to tempt her, her judges, who certainly had no right to try her, as she was a prisoner of war, declared her a relapsed heretic, in 1431; and without further ceremony condemned to the flames a person who, for the services she had rendered her king, would have had altars erected to her in those heroic times when mankind were wont to decree such honors to their deliverers. Charles VII. afterward restored her memory with honor, which indeed had been sufficiently honored by her punishment.

Cruelty alone is not sufficient to carry men to such executions; there must likewise be a certain fanaticism, composed of superstition and ignorance, which has been the common malady of almost all ages. Some time before this the English had condemned a princess of Gloucester to do penance in St. Paul's church, and a female friend of hers was burned alive, upon pretence of certain magic practices against the king's life. They had also burned Lord Cobham for a heretic: and in Brittany had inflicted the same punishment on Marshal de Retz, who was accused of sorcery, and with having butchered young children for the sake of making use of their blood in his pretended incantations.

In these unhappy times, the communication between the provinces was so interrupted, and the people bordering upon each other were so much strangers, that an enterprising woman, a few years after the death of the Maid of Orleans had the boldness to assume her name in Lorraine, resolutely averring that she had escaped the punishment intended her, and that a substitute had been burned in her stead. But what is more strange than all the rest is that the people believed this idle story. The impostor was loaded with honors and wealth; and a person of the family of Armoises publicly espoused her, in 1436, thinking to marry a real heroine, who, though meanly born, was at least upon an equality with him by the grandeur of her actions.

During the war, which was rather tedious than

decisive, and the source of many miseries, there happened another event which saved the kingdom of France. The duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, merited this name by at length forgiving the death of his father, and joining with the head of his family against a foreign invader. He even carried this generosity so far as to deliver the duke of Orleans, the son of him who had been assassinated at Paris, from his long confinement in London, by paying his ransom, which is said to have amounted to three hundred thousand gold crowns, an exaggeration common with the writers of those times. But still this behavior was a proof of great virtue. There have always been some great souls in the most corrupted times. This prince's virtue, however, did not prevent him from giving a free hand to pleasure, and the love of women, which can never be a vice but when it prompts to bad actions. It is this same Philip who, in 1430, instituted the order of the Golden Fleece, in honor of one of his mistresses. He had fifteen bastards, who were all persons of merit. His court was the most brilliant in Europe, and the cities of Antwerp and Bruges, by their extensive commerce, spread plenty over the land. In fine, France was indebted to him for her peace and grandeur, which ever afterward continued to increase, notwithstanding her many adversities, and her wars, domestic and foreign.

Charles VII. recovered his kingdom in much the same manner as Henry IV. conquered it one hundred

and fifty years afterward. Charles indeed had not that noble courage, that quick and active mind, nor that heroic character which distinguished Henry IV., but, like him, he was frequently obliged to keep fair with his foes as well as with his friends, to fight skirmishes, to take towns, some by surprise and some by money, till at length he entered Paris in the same manner as Henry IV. afterward made his entrance, partly by intrigue and partly by force. They were both declared incapable of wearing the crown, and they both forgave the injuries they had received. They had one common weakness: that of neglecting their affairs sometimes to follow the pursuit of their pleasures.

Charles did not make his entry into Paris till the year 1437, and it was not till 1450 that the English were totally driven out of France. They then retained only Calais and Guines: and forever lost those vast demesnes which their kings had been possessed of by right of blood, and which they could not secure to their posterity by the three great victories of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. The divisions in England contributed as much as Charles VII. to the re-union of France; and Henry VI., who had worn the crowns of both kingdoms, and had come to Paris to receive that of France, was dethroned in England by his own relatives, restored again, and again dethroned.

Charles, being now in the peaceable possession of France, established such orders and regularities in

that country as had never been seen there since the decline of the family of Charlemagne. He kept regular companies of fifteen hundred gendarmes. Each of these gendarmes was to serve with six horses, so that every troop was composed of nine thousand horsemen. Every captain of a hundred had seventeen hundred livres a year, which comes to about ten thousand livres of our present currency. Each gendarme had three hundred and sixty livres' yearly pay, and each of the five men who accompanied him had four livres of the currency of those times a month. He also established a body of forty-five thousand archers, who had each the same allowance of four livres a month, or about twenty-four of the present currency. Thus, in time of peace, these troops cost him five million six hundred thousand livres of our money. Things have changed greatly since that time in Europe. This establishment of archers shows that the use of firearms was not then much known. This instrument of destruction did not come to be commonly used till the time of Louis XI.

Besides these troops, who were in constant service, each village maintained a free archer, who was exempted from the king's tax; and it was by this exemption, which otherwise was peculiar to the nobility, that such a number of persons soon claimed the title of gentlemen, both by name and arms. The possessors of fiefs were exempt from the ban, which was now no longer called; there being only an

arrière-ban, composed of the lesser vassals, who still remained subject to be called upon on these occasions.

It has been a matter of surprise that, after so many disasters, France should still have continued possessed of such a number of resources, and so much money. But a country which is rich in natural productions will be ever so, while the cultivation of it is properly attended to. Civil wars, though they shake the body of the state, do not destroy it; for the murders and ravages which ruin some families, enrich others: and the merchants become better versed in the arts of commerce from the necessity there is of making use of art to protect themselves from the general storm. Jacques Cœur is a strong example of this. This man had established the greatest trade that any one private person in Europe had yet embarked in. Cosmo Medici is the only one who, since his time, ever equalled him in this respect. Jacques Cœur employed three hundred factors in Italy and the Levant. He lent two hundred thousand gold crowns to the king, without which he would never have been able to retake Normandy. His industry was more useful during the peace, than either the valor of Dunois, or of the Maid of Orleans, in time of war. It is perhaps one of the greatest blots on the memory of Charles VII. that he suffered so useful a member of the community to be persecuted. We know not the reason of this; for,

indeed, who can find out the secret springs of the faults and unjust dealings of men?

The king caused him to be thrown into prison, and he was tried by the parliament. Nothing, however, could be proved against him, only that he had caused a Christian slave, who had betrayed and deserted his Turkish master, to be returned to him again, and had sold arms to the sultan of Egypt. For these two actions, one of which was allowable, and the other strictly virtuous, he was condemned to forfeit all his possessions. On this occasion his clerks gave a proof of greater integrity than the courtiers who caused his ruin: almost all of them joined in assisting him in his disgrace. Jacques Cœur afterward retired to Cyprus, where he continued to carry on business; and, though recalled, never again ventured to revisit his ungrateful country.

The close of the reign of Charles VII. proved happy enough for France, though very unhappy to this prince himself, whose latter days were embittered by the rebellion of his unnatural son, afterward Louis XI.

CHAPTER LXIX.

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ARTS, AND SCIENCES IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

WILLING to turn from the repetition of so many miseries and mutual quarrels, the dismal objects of history and the commonplaces of human wickedness; I shall now examine mankind as members of society, inquire into their private lives, and in what manner the arts were cultivated among them.

Toward the close of the thirteenth century, and in the beginning of the fourteenth, it appears to me, that they began in Italy, notwithstanding the dissensions which prevailed everywhere, to emerge from that brutality which had in a manner overwhelmed Europe, after the decline of the Roman Empire. The necessary arts had never been entirely lost. The artificers and merchants, whose humble station had protected them from the ambitious fury of the great, were like ants, who dug themselves peaceable and secure habitation, while the eagles and vultures of the world were tearing one another to pieces.

Even in these ages of ignorance, we meet with many useful inventions, which were the fruits of that mechanical genius wherewith nature endows certain men, independent of the helps of philosophy. Thus, for example, the secret of assisting the impaired sight of old people, by those glasses called *"besicles,"* was the production of the latter part of

the thirteenth century. This noble secret was discovered by Alexander Spina. Windmills are also of the same date. La Flamma, who lived in the fourteenth century, is the first writer in whom we find any mention of them. But this was an art known long before, both to the Greeks and Arabians, and we find it spoken of by the Arabian poets of the seventh century. Earthenware, which then supplied the place of porcelain or china, was invented at Faenza. The use of glass had been known long before; but that article was scarce, and it was esteemed a kind of luxury to use it. This art was afterward carried into England by the French in 1180, and was then looked upon as an article of great magnificence.

The Venetians were the only people in the thirteenth century who had the secret of making crystal glass for mirrors. In Italy there were some few clocks which went by wheels; that at Bologna was reckoned the most famous. That miraculous and useful instrument, the compass, owed its invention entirely to chance, and mankind had not their views sufficiently advanced at that time to make a proper use of this discovery. The invention of paper, made of linen rags beaten and boiled together, is of the fourteenth century. The historian, Cortusius of Padua, speaks of one Pax, who established the first paper manufactory in that city, above a century before the invention of printing. In this manner were the useful arts established by degrees, and chiefly by ignorant and illiterate men.

There were few such cities in all Europe as Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Sienna, Pisa, and Florence. Almost all the houses in France, Germany, and England were covered with straw. They were the same in the cities of lesser note in Italy, such as Alexandria de la Paglia, Nicæa de la Paglia, etc.

Notwithstanding the vast tracts of uncultivated lands which were wholly covered with wood, they had not yet learned to secure themselves from the cold by the help of chimneys or stoves, which are in use now-a-days in all our apartments, and which serve at once for ornament and convenience. A whole family then were wont to seat themselves around a hearth placed in the middle of the room, from whence a long tunnel ran up through the top of the roof. La Flamma, a writer of the fourteenth century, complains, like most injudicious authors, that, in his time, frugality and simplicity had given way to luxury and extravagance. He regrets the times of Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II., when in Milan, the capital of Lombardy, they ate meat only thrice a week. Wine was then a rarity. Tapers were not known, and candles were luxurious ornaments. The better sort of inhabitants, according to him, made use of pieces of dried wood, lighted at the fire. They ate hot meat only three times a week; their shirts were of serge, no linen being then worn but by people of great distinction: and the dowry of a daughter of the most considerable citizen did not exceed at most a hundred livres.

"Things," adds he, "are greately changed at present. They now wear linen in common; the women dress themselves in silken stuffs, and some of them are even mixed with gold and silver: they have now two thousand livres to their portion, and even adorn their ears with gold pendants." And yet this luxury, of which La Flamma complains so grievously, was far inferior in some respects to what we now look upon as common necessaries for a rich and industrious tradesman.

Table linen was very scarce in England, and wine was sold only by the apothecaries as a cordial. The houses of private persons, both at Paris and London, were all built of wood; for women to ride in a cart in the streets of Paris, which were then scarcely paved and all covered with mud, was looked upon as an article of luxury, and, as such, forbidden by Philip the Fair. Everyone knows the regulation made under the reign of Charles VI., *"Nemo audeat dare præter duo fercula cum potagio."* Nevertheless, in the houses of the lords of fiefs, and the principal prelates, there was always as great magnificence as the times could afford. This necessarily spread itself among the possessors of large lands: but the use of silver or gold plate was in a manner wholly unknown in most of the cities. Mussus, who was a native of Lombardy, and wrote in the fourteenth century, mentions silver forks, spoons, and cups, as very extravagant articles.

"The master of a family," says he, "who has nine

or ten people to maintain, with two horses, is obliged to expend nearly three hundred gold florins a year," which was about three thousand livres of our present money.

Money therefore was extremely scarce in most parts of Italy, and still more so in France, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The people of Florence and Lombardy, who alone carried on the trade with France and England, and the Jews, who were their brokers, had twenty per cent. per annum for the common interest on their money. Excessive usury is an infallible sign of public poverty.

King Charles V. amassed considerable riches by his good economy, and the prudent management of his demesnes — which were then the only revenues of our kings — and by the imposts which had been devised under Philip of Valois; which, though trivial in themselves, caused great murmurings among an indigent people. His minister, Cardinal de Grange, had grown too rich. But all these treasures were dispersed in other countries. The cardinal carried his to Avignon, and the duke of Anjou, brother of Charles V., dissipated that prince's money in his unfortunate expedition into Italy, and France remained miserably poor till the latter end of the reign of Charles VII.

But it was not thus in the beautiful and trading cities of Italy. There the people lived in affluence and ease. With them alone the sweets of life seemed

to have taken up their residence, and riches and liberty inspired their genius, and elevated their courage.

The Italian tongue was not yet formed in the reign of Frederick II., as we may perceive by some verses of that emperor, which are the last remains we have of the Roman tongue freed from the harshness of the German:

"Plas me el cavalier Frances
E la donna Catalana
E L'ovrar Genoes
E la danza Trevisana
E lou cantar Provenzales
Las man e cara d'Angles
E lou donzel de Toscana."

"I am pleased with the French cavalier,
And the Catalonian dame,
And the workmanship of Genoa,
And the dancing of Trevisa,
And the poetry of Provence,
The hands and face of an Englishman,
And the damsels of Tuscany."

These remains are more precious than may perhaps be imagined; and infinitely surpass all the rubbish of the middle age, which is so greedily sought after by those of an ignorant and tasteless curiosity, as they prove beyond contradiction that nature has ever been the same in all the nations of which Frederick speaks. The women of Catalonia are now, as in his time, the handsomest in Spain. The French gentry still have the martial air for which they were then famous. The English are still

commonly known for the nobleness and regularity of their features, and the whiteness of their hands. The young women of Tuscany are still more agreeable than those of any other country. The Genoese have preserved their industry: and the inhabitants of Provence, their taste for poetry and music. It was in Provence and Languedoc that the Roman language first received its polish. The Provençals were masters to the Italians; and nothing is better known to the virtuosi in these researches than the following verses, made on the people called Vaudois, in the year 1100:

> When a man will neither curse, nor swear, nor lie,
> Nor slay, nor rob, nor mount his neighbor's bed,
> Nor take fell vengeance of his enemy,
> They hold him a Vaudois, and take his life.

This quotation has likewise its use, inasmuch as it is a proof that the reformers of all times have effected a severity of manners.

This jargon unhappily continued to be used, as it was spoken in Provence and Languedoc, till the Italian language, under the pen of Petrarch, received that force and elegance, which, far from degenerating, still acquired greater perfection. The Italian took its first form toward the end of the thirteenth century, in the reign of King Roger, father of the unfortunate Joan of Naples. Dante, the Florentine poet, had already adorned the Tuscan tongue by his poem called "Comedy;" which, though a whimsical performance, is full of many striking and natural

beauties. In this work the author raised himself above the bad taste of his times and his subject; and we may everywhere find in it, passages written in all the purity and elegance of the later times of Ariosto and Tasso. We cannot wonder that the author, who was one of the chiefs of the Ghibelline faction, and was severely persecuted by Pope Boniface VIII. and Charles of Valois, has in several parts of his poem given vent to the concern he felt for the quarrels between the empire and the pontificate. Permit me in this place to insert a weak translation of one of the passages in Dante, relating to these dissensions. These monuments of the human mind serve to amuse us after a long and painful attention to the miseries which have distracted the earth.

Of old, two suns were seen to blaze
In peace profound with genial rays;
On man's bewildered race to shine,
And point the paths to truth divine;
The imperial eagle's rights to show,
And brings the lamb's just claims to view.
Those skies serene are now no more:
One sun surcharged with vapors hoar,
Launched from his sphere eccentric gleams,
And strives to drink the other's beams.
Wild anarchy her empire rears;
A lion fierce the lamb appears,
In robes usurped a tyrant lord
To wield the crosier and the sword.

To Dante succeeded Petrarch, born in the year 1304, in Arezzo, the country of the famous Guido Aretin; this poet rendered the Italian tongue more

pure, and gave it all the sweetness of which it was susceptible. In these two poets, and especially in the latter, we meet with a great number of strokes which resemble the beautiful works of the ancients, and have at once all the vigor of antiquity and the freshness of novelty. It may appear rash in me to pretend to imitate this excellent poet, but you will forgive my presumption for the desire I have to make you acquainted as much as possible with the nature of his style. Here follows nearly the beginning of his beautiful "Ode to the Fountain of Vaucluse," which is indeed irregular, and composed by him in blank verse to avoid the constraint of rhyme, but which nevertheless is more esteemed than those of his pieces which are in rhyme:

"Pure fountain, by whose purling stream,
That beauty, mistress of my heart,
Whom nature formed above the reach of art,
Avoids at noon the sultry beam;
O happy tree, whose foliage made,
When fanned by Zephyr's wing,
For her a cool, refreshing shade,
Ye scenes that her adored idea bring,
And wake the sigh that struggles while I sing;
Ye gorgeous daughters of the dewy morn,
Who, though less fair than she, these meads adorn,
Sweet flowrets, oft beheld with jealous eye,
While borrowing fragrance on her breast you lie;
Ye nightingales whose warbled strain
Would emulate her song in vain;
Ye breezes that more salutary play,
As o'er her charms with feathered foot you stray;
O blest retreat, that ages shall revere!
O plain so dreaded, yet so dear!

Where love, with his all-piercing dart,
First triumphed o'er my captive heart;
Receive these tears, these notes by sorrow sung,
While death's cold accents tremble on my tongue."

These little poems, which are styled Canzoni, are esteemed his masterpieces, his other works having procured him much less honor: here he has immortalized the "Fountain of Vaucluse," his mistress, Laura, and himself. Had he never loved, he would never have been so well known. However imperfect the above imitation may be, it serves to show the immense superiority the Italians had over other nations, and I thought it much better to give you this slight idea of Petrarch's genius, and of that sweetness and melting elegance which so much distinguish his writings, than to trouble you with a repetition of what so many writers have already related of the honors offered him at Paris, of those conferred on him at Rome, and of his triumph in the Capitol, in 1341, where he received that famous homage which the admiration of his contemporaries paid to a genius then unparalleled, but which was afterward surpassed by that of Ariosto and Tasso. I shall not, however, omit to mention that his family were banished from Tuscany, and their estates confiscated, during the dissensions between the Guelphs and Ghibellines; and that the people of Florence deputed Boccaccio to request him in their name to come and honor his native country with his presence, and enjoy the restitution of his patrimony. Greece, in her

brightest ages, never gave nobler proofs of a taste and esteem for great talents.

This Boccaccio fixed the Tuscan language, and is still the best model for exactness and purity of style, in prose, as well as for the natural and the narrative. The Italian tongue, thus rendered perfect by these two writers, underwent no further alteration, while all the other people of Europe, even the Greeks themselves, have changed their idiom.

After this there followed an uninterrupted succession of Italian poets, whose works have all been transmitted to posterity. Pulci wrote after Petrarch; Bayardo, count of Scandiano, succeeded Pulci; and Ariosto surpassed them all by the fruitfulness of his imagination. Let us not forget that Petrarch and Boccaccio celebrated the unfortunate Joan of Naples, whose cultivated mind was sensible of their merit, and who was herself one of their scholars. She was at that time entirely devoted to the polite arts, and forgot in their bosom the crimes which had embittered the moments of her first marriage; and the change which was wrought in her manners by the cultivation of her mind, should have saved her from the tragical end which afterward befell her.

The polite arts, which are, as it were, linked hand in hand, and generally sink and rise again together, first began in Italy to emerge from barbarism. Cimabue, without any assistance, became anew the inventor of painting in the thirteenth century. Giotto drew pictures which are yet beheld with pleasure.

There is one piece in particular remaining of this famous painter, which has since been copied in mosaic work, and represents the favorite apostle walking upon the waters; it is to be seen over the great door in St. Peter's at Rome. Brunelleschi began to reform the Gothic architecture, and Guido of Arezzo had long before, namely, about the end of the eleventh century, invented notes for music, by which he rendered that art more easy and generally known.

We are indebted for all these beautiful and new inventions to the Italians alone. They called them all into life again by the sole strength of their genius, before the little science which was left in Constantinople had ebbed back into Italy with the Greek language, after the Ottoman conquests. Florence was at that time a new Athens, and, among the orators who were sent from the Italian cities to compliment Pope Boniface VIII. on his exaltation to the papal chair, there were no less than eight natives of Florence. By this we may perceive that we do not owe the revival of the polite arts to those who fled into Italy from Constantinople, since these fugitives could at most but teach the Italians the Greek language.

It may appear astonishing that so many great geniuses should have arisen in Italy in the midst of dissensions and civil wars, and equally destitute of protection and of models. But let it be remembered that among the Romans Lucretius wrote his beauti-

ful poem upon natural history, Virgil his "Bucolics," and Cicero his books of philosophy, in the midst of all the horrors of civil wars. When once a language begins to take a form, it becomes an instrument which great artists find ready prepared to their hands, and which they employ without concerning themselves about who governs or disturbs the world.

But although this light seems to have shone only in Italy, yet there were not wanting some persons of talents in other countries. St. Bernard and Abelard, who lived in France in the twelfth century, may be considered as men of great genius, but their language was a barbarous jargon, and their Latin was a tribute which they paid to the bad taste of the times. The Latin hymns in rhyme, which were composed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are the very quintessence of barbarism. It was not thus that Horace sung the secular games. The scholastic divinity of those times, which was the bastard offspring of the Aristotelian philosophy, badly translated, and as ill understood, did more injury to understanding and the polite studies than ever the Huns and Vandals had done.

The polite arts were kept alive in the East, and since the poems of the Persian writer Sadi are still in the mouths of Persians, Turks, and Arabians, they must certainly have had some merit. This writer was contemporary with Petrarch, and equal to him in reputation. It is certain that, in general, good

taste was far from being prevalent among the Orientals. Their works resemble the titles of their monarchs, full of high-sounding epithets. The spirit of slavery and subjection appears to be naturally dastardly, as that of liberty is nervous, and true greatness simple. The Orientals have no delicacy, because their women are excluded from society. They have no order or method, because everyone gives freedom to his imagination in that solitude in which they pass the greater part of their lives, and the imagination of itself is always unruly. They have also been always strangers to true eloquence, such as that of Cicero and Demosthenes. For whom had an eastern orator to persuade? a set of slaves. And yet they have several bright gleams of scientific light: they paint in speech; and although their figures are frequently gigantic and incoherent, they still partake somewhat of the sublime. You may perhaps not be displeased to see again in this place a passage from Sadi, which I formerly translated into blank verse, and which bears a strong resemblance to some passages in the Hebrew poets. It is a description of the power of God, a common-place subject without doubt, but which may serve to give you an idea of the Persian genius.

He knows distinctly what is yet to come,
His ear is filled with sounds as yet unformed.
Sovereign of all, he asks no bended knee,
Immortal judge, he needs no written law.
By the eternal fulness of his foresight,
As with a ready pencil, he has traced

The infant features in the mother's womb.
By him conducted through his bright career,
Safely the sun journeys from east to west.
He sows the flinty bosoms of the hills
With the rich ruby, and the sapphire blue.
Two drops of water, in his plastic hand,
Take different forms, as suit his high behest;
This breathes a man; that, sinking to the deep,
Rounds in its oozy bed an orient pearl.
Creation at his bidding rose to light,
And shall, if he commands, again retire
Back to the immense vacuity of space;
Or if he speaks, lo! quicker than the word,
The obedient universe once more starts forth
From deepest chaos, to the realms of being.

If the belles-lettres were thus cultivated on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, it is a certain proof that the other arts which minister to our pleasures were very well known. The superfluities of life follow only after the knowledge of the necessaries: but this was still wanting almost throughout Europe. What did they know in Germany, France, England, Spain, and the northern parts of Lombardy? Nothing but barbarous and feudal customs equally tumultuous and uncertain, duels, tournaments, scholastic divinity, and magic.

They still celebrated in several churches the festival of the ass, and that of the innocents and fools. An ass was brought before the altar, and the people sang the whole anthem to him: "Amen, Amen, Asine; eh, eh, eh, Mr. Ass! eh, eh, eh, Mr. Ass." A company of fools marched at the head of every procession in plaited gowns, hung round with bells

and baubles, and this fashion is still kept up in some towns of the Low Countries, and in Germany. As to our northern nations, all their literature consisted in certain farces, written and exhibited in the vulgar tongue, with the titles of "The Foolish Mother," "The Prince of Fools," etc.

Nothing was to be heard but stories of revelation, people possessed by evil spirits and fascinations: and to such lengths did the prejudices of those times carry men, that Philip III.'s queen being accused of adultery, the king sent to consult a Beguine, to know whether his wife was guilty or innocent. The children of Philip the Fair entered into an association in writing by which they engaged mutually to defend one another against anyone who should attempt to destroy them by magic. There was a decree of parliament, condemning a woman to be burned for a witch who was accused of having entered into compact with the devil, in favor of Robert of Artois. The disorder of Charles VI. was attributed to magic, and a supposed conjurer was sent for to cure him. The princess of Gloucester in England, was condemned to do penance in the porch of St. Paul's church; and a baroness of the same kingdom, her supposed accomplice, was burned alive for a witch.

If the most considerable personages of the kingdoms of Europe fell victims to these cruelties, which were the offspring of credulity, we may easily sup-

pose what private persons were subject to. But these were slight evils.

In Germany, France, Spain, and even in Italy, except in the large trading cities, they were entirely destitute of any form of civil government: the walled towns in Germany and France were all sacked during the civil wars; the Greek Empire was overrun by the Turks; Spain was still divided between the Christians and the Mahometan Moors, and each side was frequently torn in pieces by its own intestine commotions. At length, in the reign of Philip of Valois, Edward III., Louis of Bavaria, and Pope Clement VI., a general plague swept away those who had escaped the sword and the miseries of their country.

Immediately preceding these times of the fourteenth century, our Europe was, as we have already seen, depopulated and impoverished by the Crusades. If we go back from these Crusades to the times which followed after the death of Charlemagne we shall find them not less unhappy, and still more ignorant. The comparison of those ages with our own should fill us with a due sense of the happiness we now enjoy, notwithstanding the almost invincible propensity we have to admire and praise the past at the expense of the present.

But we must not believe that all was alike savage. There were several great examples of virtue in all stations, on the throne and in the cloister, among the swordsmen and the priests. But neither a St.

Louis nor a St. Ferdinand could heal the wounds of humankind. The long dispute between the emperors and the popes, the obstinate stand made by the Roman liberty against the power of the German Cæsars, and that of the Roman pontiffs, the frequent schisms, and at length the great schism of the West, would not permit those popes, elected in the midst of tumults, to exercise those virtues with which more happy and peaceable times might have probably inspired them; and, indeed, might it not be possible for the general depravity of manners to extend its influence even to them? Every man is formed by the age he lives in, and few are there who can rise above the manners of the times. The wicked actions which many of the popes committed, and the scandalous lives they led upon the authority of general example are things which can never be buried in oblivion. But of what service is it to set forth their vices and their disasters; to show how happy Rome has been, since decency and tranquillity have reigned within her walls? And what more desirable fruit can we reap from all the vicissitudes we meet with in this general history than the conviction that every nation has always been unhappy till the laws and the legislative power were established by universal consent?

In like manner as some few monarchs and pontiffs, worthy of better times, could not stop the general torrent of disorder, so neither could a few fine

geniuses, born in the darkness of the northern nations, allure to those climates the arts and sciences.

Charles V., king of France, who made a collection of over nine hundred volumes, at least a century before the Vatican library was founded by Nicholas V., in vain endeavored to encourage learning in his kingdom. The soil was not yet prepared for bearing those exotic fruits. There has been a collection of some of the wretched productions of those times: this is like collecting a heap of flints from the rubbish of an old house, when we are surrounded by beautiful palaces. Charles was obliged to send to Pisa for an astrologer; and Catherine, the daughter of this astrologer, who wrote in French, pretends that Charles expressed himself thus: "While learning is honored in this kingdom, it will continue to flourish." But learning was unknown, and taste yet more so; the French having only the advantage of a more showy outside than other nations.

When Charles of Valois, brother to Philip the Fair, went into Italy, the inhabitants of Lombardy, and even those of Tuscany, took the fashions of the French. These were rather extravagancies than fashion. The coat was laced behind in the same manner as the women's stays now are, with large hanging-down sleeves, and a riding cloak that trailed upon the ground. The French gentlemen, however, gave a certain grace to this odd kind of masquerade, and justified what Frederic II. had said: "*Plas me el cavalier Frances.*" It would, however, have been

much better for France, had they understood more of military discipline; the kingdom would not then have fallen a prey to a foreign power, as it did under the reign of Philip of Valois, John, and Charles VI. But how happened it that the English were so much better versed in martial discipline than their neighbors? Probably for the reason that, being frequently obliged to fight at a distance from their own country, they found they stood in greater need of such knowledge; or rather because they have a more cool and deliberate courage.

CHAPTER LXX.

ENFRANCHISEMENTS, PRIVILEGES OF TOWNS, STATES-GENERAL.

From the general anarchy of Europe, and the numberless disasters in which it was involved, arose the inestimable blessing of liberty, which has gradually made the imperial and other cities rich and flourishing.

You may already have observed, that in the beginning of the feudal anarchy the cities were almost all peopled with bondmen rather than citizens, as is still the case in Poland, where there are not above three or four cities which have the liberty of holding lands; and the inhabitants all belong to their lord, who has power of life and death over them. It was the same in France and Germany. The emperors began by granting enfranchisements to several cities;

and as early as the thirteenth century the cities joined together for their common defence against the lords of castles, who lived upon plunder.

Louis the Fat, of France, followed this example in the places within his domains, in order to weaken the lords who were up in arms against him. The lords themselves sold freedoms to the small towns which were in their demesnes, for money to support the honor of chivalry in the Holy Land.

At length, in 1167, Pope Alexander III. declared in the name of a council, that all Christians ought to be exempt from servitude. This law is alone sufficient to render his memory dear to the people of all nations; as his endeavors to maintain the liberty of Italy ought to make his name precious to the Italians.

It was in virtue of this law that a long time afterwards King Louis Hutin declared in his charters, that all the bondmen then remaining in France should be free; "Because," says he, "it is the kingdom of the Franks." He made them indeed pay for this freedom; but could such a blessing be bought too dear?

Nevertheless, mankind were reinstated but by degrees, and with great difficulty, in their natural rights. Louis Hutin could not oblige the lords, his vassals, to do for the subjects of their demesnes that which he had done for his. The husbandmen and even the burghers remained for a long time a powerful body of men, wholly attached to tillage, as they still are in many provinces in Germany: and it was

not till the reign of Charles VII. that servitude was entirely abolished in France, by the weakening of the power of the lords. The English contributed greatly to this happy change, by bringing over with them that spirit of freedom which is their distinguishing character.

Even before the time of Louis Hutin, the kings of France had ennobled some citizens. Philip the Bold, son of St. Louis, ennobled Raoul, commonly called Raoul the Goldsmith; not from his being an artificer, for then his nobility would have been ridiculous, but as being the keeper of the king's money; for cash-keepers were generally called goldsmiths, as they still are in London, where they have retained many of the ancient customs of France.

The corporations of towns were first admitted in France into the general assembly of the estates by Philip the Fair, in 1301: these assemblies then held the place of the ancient parliaments of the nation, formerly composed of lords and prelates. The third estate gave their advice in the form of a petition, which was presented upon the knee; and the custom is still kept up for the third estate to address the king on one knee, in the same manner as the lawyers do at a bar of justice. The first general assembly of the estates was held to oppose the pretensions of Pope Boniface VIII. It must be acknowledged that it was a melancholy circumstance for human nature, that there were but two orders in the state, the one composed of the lords of fiefs, who did not make the

five-thousandth part of the nation; and the other of the clergy, who were still an inferior number, and who, from the nature of their holy institution, were destined to a superior function, entirely foreign to temporal matters. The body of the nation had been ignored. This was one of the true causes of the languid state of the kingdom of France, by suppressing all industry. Had the body of the state in England and Holland been composed only of secular and ecclesiastical barons, those people would never, during the war in 1701, have held the balance of Europe in their own hands.

Philip the Fair, who has been reproached for his malpractices with respect to the coin, his persecution of the Knights Templars, and perhaps a too bitter animosity to Pope Boniface VIII. and his memory, did great service to the nation, in calling the third estate to the general assemblies of France.

The House of Commons in England began to assume shape about this time, and stood in great credit in 1300. Thus the chaos of government began to be cleared up almost everywhere, by the very misfortunes which the feudal government had everywhere occasioned. But although the people thus resumed their liberties and the enjoyment of so many privileges, it was a considerable time before they were able to emerge from the barbarism and brutality to which they had been reduced, and which is the consequence of a long state of slavery. They were now indeed free, and were looked upon as men;

but still they became neither more civilized nor more industrious. The bloody wars of Edward III. and Henry V. plunged the people of France into a state worse than slavery; and they did not begin to recover themselves again till the reign of Charles VII. The English people were not much happier after the death of Henry V. Those in Germany were in a better situation during the reigns of the emperors Wenceslaus and Sigismund, because the imperial cities had then acquired a degree of credit and power.

CHAPTER LXXI.

TAXES AND COINS.

The third estate was of no other use in the general assembly of the estates held by Philip of Valois, in 1345, than to give its consent to the first imposition of aids and gabelles: but it is certain that if the estates had been assembled more frequently in France, they would have acquired more authority; for under the administration of this same Philip of Valois, which became odious by the bad state of the coin, and greatly discredited by its misfortunes, the estates, in 1355, of themselves appointed commissioners from the three orders to collect the money they had granted the king. Those who give what they please, and as they please, are certainly sharers in the sovereign authority. It was for this reason that the kings convoked these assemblies as seldom

as possible, and only when they could not avoid it. Thus from the nation being so little accustomed to examine into its wants, its resources, and its strength, the states-general were wanting in that spirit of connection, and the knowledge of business which settled and regular bodies have. Being called together only at long intervals, they were obliged to inquire of one another concerning the laws and customs, instead of proceeding to settle them, and were in a continual state of surprise and uncertainty. The parliaments of England have taken greater prerogatives to themselves, and have established and maintained themselves in the right of being the natural representatives of the nation. This alone may show us the difference between the two people: both set out upon the same principles, and yet the form of their government is now entirely different. At that time it was exactly the same. The estates of Aragon, those of Hungary, and the German diets have likewise very great privileges.

The states-general of France, or rather of that part of France which fought for the lawful sovereign, Charles VII., against the usurper Henry V., generously granted their royal master a general tax in 1426, in the very height of the war, and in a time of great scarcity, when they were apprehensive that the lands must have lain uncultivated for want of men. This tax has since become perpetual. The kings before them were wont to live upon their own demesnes: but Charles VII. had lost almost all his,

and had it not been for the brave warriors who sacrificed themselves for him and for their country, and for his constable, Count de Richemont, by whom he was wholly directed, he must have been lost himself.

Soon afterward the husbandmen, who had hitherto paid taxes to their lords, whose bondmen they were, now paid this tribute only to the king, whose subjects they were, not but that the kings of France had, even before the time of St. Louis, raised taxes in the lands belonging to the royal patrimony. We know of the tax of bread and wine paid at first in kind, and afterward in money. The French term *taille* came from the custom the collectors had of marking upon a small wooden tally the sums paid by the persons assessed; for very few of the common people knew how to write. The very customs of the towns were not in writing; and this same Charles VII. was the first who ordered them to be enrolled in 1454, when he had restored peace and a police to his kingdom, of which it had been so long deprived, and when so long a series of misfortunes had given rise to a new form of government.

Here, then, I consider in general the fate of the people rather than the revolutions of kingdoms. Mankind should be the chief object of our attention in history; and here it is that every writer ought to say "*homo sum;*" but most of our historians have busied themselves rather in descriptions of battles.

There was yet another thing which disturbed the public order and tranquillity of Europe, and injured the fortunes of private families; this was the adulteration of the coin. Every lord coined money, and changed at pleasure the nominal value and weight; thus doing himself a lasting prejudice for the sake of a temporary advantage. The necessity of the times had obliged the kings to set this fatal example. I have already remarked that the gold specie of one part of Europe, and especially of France, had been swallowed up in Asia and Africa in the unfortunate projects of the Crusades. It was necessary, therefore, in a time of need to increase the numerical value of the money. In the time of Charles V., after he had reduced his kingdom to obedience, the livre was worth seven numerical livres; under Charlemagne it was of the real weight of one pound. The livre of Charles V., then, was in fact but the seventh part of the old livre; therefore an income which consisted in rent charge, an enfeoffment, or dues payable in silver, was by this means reduced to the seventh part of its original value.

We may judge from a still more striking example, of the small quantity of money that was circulating in such a kingdom as France. This same Charles V. declared the children of France entitled to an appanage of twelve thousand livres a year. These twelve thousand livres are worth at present no more than twenty-four thousand livres. How poor a provision

ANNE ROBERT JACQUES TURGOT

for a king's son! The scarcity of specie was equally great in Germany, Spain, and England.

King Edward III. was the first who struck gold coin. Let it be considered that the Romans had no gold coin till six hundred and fifty years after the founding of their republic.

The whole revenues of Henry V. did not amount to more than fifty-six thousand pounds sterling, which is about twelve hundred thousand livres of the present French currency; yet with this trifling resource did he attempt the conquest of France. Nay, after the battle of Agincourt he was obliged to return to England, to borrow money of the city of London, and to put everything in pledge to raise supplies for carrying on the war. And in fact his conquests were made rather with the sword than with money.

In Sweden there was in those times no other money than what was made of iron or copper. There was but a very small quantity of silver in Denmark, and that was brought into the country by the trade carried on with Lübeck.

In this general scarcity of money, which was severely felt in France after the Crusades, King Philip the Fair not only raised the fictitious and ideal price of specie, but he also caused a quantity of bad money to be coined, in which was mixed an over-proportion of alloy. In a word, it was a kind of counterfeit coin; and these proceedings raised seditions among the people, which rendered the nation

very unhappy. Philip of Valois went still farther than Philip the Fair; for he made the officers of his mint swear upon the gospels to keep the secret, and enjoined them by an ordinance to impose upon the merchants, "And in such manner that they may not discover that there is any alteration in the weight." These are his own words. But how could he flatter himself that this piece of injustice would remain concealed? and what times were those in which they were forced to have recourse to such artifices—times in which almost all the lords of fiefs since the reign of St. Louis had followed the same practices, for which Philip the Fair and Philip of Valois were so much blamed? The French lords sold the king their right of coinage; but those in Germany have still preserved theirs: this has sometimes given rise to great abuses, but not so universal nor so fatal as those in France.

CHAPTER LXXII.

THE PARLIAMENT TILL THE REIGN OF CHARLES VII.

Philip the Fair, who was the cause of so many evils, by adulterating the good coin of St. Louis, did the state great service in calling to the general assembly of the nation the citizens, who are in fact the body of the nation; nor did he procure it a less advantage by instituting a sovereign court of judicature, to be held at Paris under the name of parliament.

What has been hitherto said concerning the origin and nature of the Parliament of Paris affords but very confused ideas of the matter, because the change of old customs into new is apt to escape the attention. One writer will have it, that the courts of inquests and requests exactly represent the courts held by the ancient conquerors of Gaul. Another pretends that the parliament derives its right of judicature wholly from the ancient peers, who were the judges of the nation; and that the parliament is called the court of peers.

Thus much is certain, that there occurred a great change in the French government, under Philip the Fair, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. 1. The great feudal and aristocratic form of government was gradually undermined in the royal demesnes. 2. Philip the Fair, almost at the same time erected what we call the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, and Normandy, and the extraordinary courts of Troyes as courts of justice. 3. The Parliament of Paris became the most considerable on account of its large extent of district. 4. Philip the Fair fixed its seat at Paris. 5. It was made a perpetual court by Philip the Long, and became the trustee and interpreter of the old and new laws, the guardian of the rights of the crown, and the great oracle of the nation.

The king's privy council, the states-general, and the parliament were three very different things. The states-general were really and truly the ancient par-

liament of the whole nation; to which were added the deputies of the commons.

The king's privy council was composed of such great officers of the state as he pleased to admit, and particularly of the peers of the kingdom, who were all princes of the blood. And the court of justice, known by the name of parliament, now fixed at Paris, was at first composed of bishops and knights, assisted by others of the professed and lay clergy, who had a knowledge of civil matters.

The peers had doubtless a right to sit in that court, as being the original judges of the nation: but even supposing them not to have this right, it would be no less a high court of judicature; in the same manner as the imperial chamber in Germany is a high court, although neither the electors nor the other princes of the empire ever assisted at it; and as the Council of Castile is still a supreme court, although the grandees of Spain have not the privilege of a seat therein.

The parliament is not the same as the ancient assemblies held in the fields in the months of March and May, although it still retains the same name. The peers had indeed a right to assist at those assemblies; but these peers were not, as in England, the only nobles of the kingdom. They were princes who held their honors from the crown; and when any new peers were to be made, they could be taken only from among these princes. Champagne having ceased to be a peerage, when Philip the Fair got it

in dowry with his wife, he erected Brittany and Artois into peerages. Now the sovereigns of these states certainly never came to try causes in the Parliament of Paris, although many of the bishops did. This new parliament at its first institution met four times a year. The members of this court were frequently changed, and were paid out of the king's treasury for the seats they vacated.

These parliaments were called sovereign courts, and the president was styled the sovereign of the body, which signifies no more than the head or chief, as may be proved by the very words of an ordinance made by Philip the Fair, viz.: "That no master shall presume to absent himself from the court without the permission of his sovereign." I must here observe, that no one was permitted to plead by proxy, but was to appear before the court in person, unless the king's express dispensation was first obtained.

If the prelates had preserved their right of assisting at the sittings of this perpetual assembly, it would then have become a perpetual assembly of states-general. The bishops were excluded from this assembly by Philip the Long in 1320. At first they presided in the parliament, and took the place of the chancellor. The first layman who sat as president in this court, by order from the king, in 1320, was a count of Boulogne. The gentlemen of the law had only the title of counsellors till the year 1350. After that, when the civilians became presidents, they wore

the knight's mantle, had the privileges of nobility, and were frequently styled *chevaliers ès loix,* or knights at law. But the nobles by name and arms always affected to show a contempt for this pacific body of nobility. The descendants of professors of the law are to this day excluded from a seat in the chapters of Germany. It is a relic of ancient barbarity to annex a contemptuous idea to the most noble function of humanity, that of distributing justice.

It was in this perpetual parliament, which sat at Paris in St. Louis's palace, that Charles VI. held, on Dec. 23, 1420, that famous bar of justice, at which Henry V., king of England, was present, whom on that occasion, Charles styled his well-beloved son, Henry VI., hereditary regent of the kingdom; and at the same time the king's own son was called Charles, styling himself the dauphin; and all the accomplices in the murder of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, were declared guilty of high treason, and deprived of all right of inheritance, which was in fact condemning the dauphin without naming him.

But what is still more, it is affirmed that in the registers of parliament, in the year 1420, there is an entry, importing that the dauphin — afterward Charles VII. — having been previously summoned three times by sound of trumpet to surrender himself in the month of January, had been condemned for contumacy, and adjudged to perpetual exile, from which sentence, adds the register, "He

appealed to God and his sword." If this register is authentic, there was an interval of almost a year between this sentence and the holding of the court, which afterward confirmed but too strongly this fatal decree. It is, however, not at all surprising that they issued such an arret; for Philip, duke of Burgundy, son of the murdered duke, was all-powerful in Paris, and the dauphin's mother had become an implacable enemy of her own son; the king had lost his reason, and was in the hands of strangers; and, in short, the dauphin had punished one crime by another still more horrible; for he had caused his relation, John of Burgundy, to be assassinated in his own presence, after having drawn him thither upon the faith of the most solemn oaths. We should also consider what the temper of the times then was. This same Henry V., king of England and regent of France, had been imprisoned at London, while prince of Wales, by the sole authority of a common judge, whom he had struck in open court while in the execution of his office.

This century furnishes us with another shocking instance of justice, carried even to a degree of horror. A ban of Croatia condemned Elizabeth, queen regent of Hungary, to be drowned for being concerned in the murder of Charles de Durazzo, king of Naples.

The sentence of the parliament against the dauphin was of another kind; it was only an instrument acting under a superior power. They did not

proceed against John, duke of Burgundy, till he assassinated the duke of Orleans, and then it was only to avenge the murder of a murderer.

In reading the deplorable history of those times, we are to recollect that after the famous Treaty of Troyes, which gave the kingdom of France to Henry V. of England, there were two parliaments in the kingdom assembled at the same time, as again happened some three hundred years afterward in the time of the league; but during the subversion of the government under Charles VI. there were two kings, two queens, two parliaments, two universities of Paris, and each side had its marshals and great officers of state.

I must observe furthermore, that in these times, when a peer of the kingdom was to be tried, the king was obliged to preside in person at the trial. Charles VII., in the last year of his reign, did, in compliance with this custom, sit as president of the judges who condemned the duke of Alençon; a custom which afterward came to be looked upon as derogatory to justice and the royal dignity, since the presence of the sovereign might seem to influence the votes; and that in a criminal affair, that presence which should only be the dispenser of grace and favors, might be obliged to become the inflicter of punishments.

Lastly, I shall remark, that, in the trial of a peer, it was necessary that the whole body of peers should be assembled, as being his natural judges. To these Charles VII., in the affair of the duke of Alençon,

added the great officers of the crown. He did still more; for he admitted into this assembly the treasurers of France, and the lay-deputies of the parliament. Thus do all things change; and the history of customs, laws, and privileges is in many countries, and especially in France, only a moving picture.

It is therefore an idle project, and an ungrateful task, to endeavor to refer everything to ancient customs, or to fix that wheel which time is eternally whirling around with an irresistible motion. To what era must we go back? To that when the word "parliament" signified an assembly of the leaders of the Franks, who met together on the first day of March, to settle the division of spoils? Or to that in which all the bishops had a right to sit in a court of justice known also by the name of parliament? Or to the times when the barons held the commons in a state of slavery? To what age, I say, or what laws, must we go back? What custom must we abide by? A citizen of Rome might, with as great certainty, ask the pope for the same consuls, the same tribunes, the same senate, and the same comitia; nay, for the very self-same form of government which prevailed in the ancient Roman republic; or a citizen of Athens demand of the sultan the ancient Areopagus, and assemblies of the people.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

THE COUNCIL OF BASEL, HELD IN THE TIME OF CHARLES VII.

WHAT the states-general are to kings, such are councils to the popes; but those things which have the nearest resemblance to one another frequently differ the most. In those monarchies where the republican spirit was the most prevalent, the estates never thought themselves superior to their kings; although they may have deposed them in a time of urgent necessity and disorder. The electors who deposed the emperor Wenceslaus never looked upon themselves as superior to an emperor in possession of the royal authority. The Cortes of Aragon told the king whom they elected, *"Nos que valemos tanto como vos, y que podemos mas que vos,"* but when the king was crowned, they no longer expressed themselves in that manner, nor pretended to be superior to the person whom they had made master over them.

But it is not the same with an assembly of bishops of a number of churches equally independent, as it is with the body of a monarchical state. This body has a sovereign, and the churches have only one chief metropolitan. But matters of religion, and the doctrine and discipline of the Church can never be subject to the decision of a single person, in contradiction to the whole world besides. The councils therefore are superior to the popes, in the same sense

as the opinions of a thousand persons ought to be deemed superior to that of a single one. It remains then to know whether these councils have the same right of deposing the head of the Church, as the diets of Poland and the electors of the Germanic Empire have of deposing their sovereign.

This is one of those questions which are to be decided only by the argument *a fortiori*. If, on the one hand, a simple provincial synod has the power of divesting a common bishop of his dignities; by a much stronger reason can the assembly of the whole Christian world degrade the bishop of Rome. But again, on the other hand, this bishop is a sovereign prince, and did not receive his dignity from a council: how then can the council pretend to take it from him, especially if his own subjects are satisfied with his administration? It would be in vain for all the bishops of the world to depose from his episcopal function an ecclesiastical elector, with whom the empire and his own electorate were satisfied: he would still continue to be an elector, and enjoy all his rights as such; just as a king, excommunicated by ecclesiastical censure, would, if master in his kingdom, continue to be the sovereign of that kingdom.

The Council of Constance deposed the sovereign of Rome, because the people of Rome neither would nor could oppose its proceedings. The Council of Basel, which pretended ten years afterward to follow the same example, gave a proof how little example

is to be relied upon, and how greatly affairs, which are seemingly alike, may differ; and also that what may be a great and exemplary boldness at one time, may appear rash and weak at another.

The Council of Basel was only a prolongation of several others, proclaimed by Pope Martin V., at different times, at Pavia and at Sienna. But as soon as Pope Eugenius IV. was elected, in 1431, the fathers began by declaring that the pope had neither the right of dissolving their assembly, nor yet of removing its seat; and that he was subject to them, under pain of punishment. Pope Eugenius immediately upon this declaration ordered the council to be dissolved. There seems to have been more zeal than prudence in this precipitate step taken by the fathers, and a zeal that might have had fatal consequences.

Emperor Sigismund, who was then reigning, was not master of the person of Eugenius, as he had been of that of John XXIII. He therefore kept fair at once with both pope and council. This scandalous business was for a long time confined to negotiations, in which both the whole eastern and western churches were made parties. The Greek Empire was no longer in a condition to make head against the Turk, without the assistance of the Latin princes. It was necessary therefore for the Greek Church, if it was desirous of obtaining this weak support, to submit to that of Rome: but it was far from entertaining such a thought; and the more pressing the danger grew, the more obstinate were the Greeks.

But the emperor, John Palæologus, who was principally affected by this danger, consented out of policy to that which his clergy refused through obstinacy, and was ready to grant everything, provided he might but obtain some assistance. He therefore addressed himself, at the same time, to the pope and to the council, who each of them disputed the honor of humbling the Greeks. John sent ambassadors to Basel, where the pope had some partisans of greater abilities than the rest of the fathers. The council had decreed that a sum of money should be sent to the emperor, with a few galleys to bring him over to Italy; and that he should have reception in the city of Basel. The pope's emissaries privately framed another decree, by which it was declared, in the name of the council, that they would receive the emperor at Florence, whither the pope would have the assembly removed: they also found means to open the lock of the casket in which the seal of the council was kept, with which they sealed this decree, so opposite to the true one made by the council, to which they signed the names of the fathers. This Italian trick succeeded; and it was plain that after this the pope would have the advantage in everything over the council.

This assembly had no chief capable of uniting them and crushing the pope, as that of Constance had. Neither had it any determinate point in view; but acted with so little prudence that in a memorial which the fathers delivered to the Greek ambassa-

dors, they declared, that having already destroyed the heresy of the Hussites, they were now going to destroy the heresy of the Greek Church. The pope, on the contrary, was more artful, and managed the negotiation on his side with more address; he breathed nothing but brotherly love and union, and never spoke of the Greeks but in the gentlest terms. Eugenius was a person of great prudence; he had appeased the troubles in Rome, and was very powerful. He took care to have his galleys ready before those of the council.

The emperor embarked at the pope's expense, taking with him his patriarch, and a few chosen bishops who were willing to renounce all the tenets of the Greek Church for the interest of their country. The pope received them at Ferrara; and the emperor and his bishops, in the midst of their real submission, preserved in appearance the imperial majesty, and the dignity of the Greek Church. No one of them kissed the pope's feet; but, after some few altercations about the *filioque processit,* which had for a long time been added by the Church of Rome to the ancient homily, the unleavened bread, and the doctrine of purgatory, they conformed to all the Romish tenets.

The pope now removed his council from Ferrara to Florence; and here it was that the deputies of the Greek Church admitted the doctrine of purgatory. In this council it was determined that "the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son by the

production of *spiration;* that the Father communicates the whole of His divine essence to the Son, excepting only His fatherhood; and that the productive power is given to the Son from all eternity."

At length the Greek emperor, with his patriarch, and almost all the other prelates, subscribed at Florence to the long-disputed point of the primacy of the bishop of Rome.

This union of the Latins and Greeks was indeed but transitory. The whole Greek Church disowned what had been done; but still the pope's victory was no less glorious, and never had any pontiff before him the appearance of enjoying so complete a triumph.

At the very time that he was rendering this essential service to the Latins, and putting an end, as far as in him lay, to the schism between the eastern and western churches, he was, in 1419, by the Council of Basel, deposed from the pontificate, and declared "a rebel, a simonist, a schismatic, a heretic, and guilty of perjury."

If we judge of this council from this decree, it will appear no better than a company of factious spirits: but if we consider the excellent rules for discipline which it instituted, it will then appear an assembly of the wisest men; and for this reason, that passion had no part in its regulations, but was confined wholly to the deposition of Eugenius. The most august body, when led away by faction, always commits greater faults than a single person. Charles

VII.'s council in France adopted the prudent regulations of this council, and rejected that decree which had been dictated by the spirit of party.

These were the regulations which served to compose the pragmatic sanction, which has been so long the darling of the people of France, that made by St. Louis being no longer in force. The customs which they had vainly attempted to renew in France were utterly abolished by the address of the Romans. They were now established by this famous pragmatic sanction. The elections made by the clergy, with the approbation of the king, were confirmed; the custom of annates was declared simony, and reservation and reversions had in execration. But, on the one hand, they never ventured to do all that they might, and, on the other hand, they never did what they should have done. This celebrated law, by which the liberties of the Gallican Church are secured, allows of a final appeal to the pope, who in that case may depute judges to preside in all ecclesiastical causes, which might easily be compromised by the bishops of the country. This was in some measure acknowledging the pope for master: and at the same time that this pragmatic law confers on him the chief of all prerogatives, it forbids him to make any more than twenty-four cardinals, with just as much reason as the pope would have to limit the number of dukes and peers of France, and grandees of Spain. Thus the whole is a contradiction.

The regulations established by this council also gave rise to the Germanic concordat; the pragmatic law has been abolished in France, and the Germanic concordat still continues in force, as indeed all the German customs have done. The election of prelates, the investitures of princes, the privileges of towns, rights, rank, and order of precedency, are almost all the same as they originally were. On the contrary, there are none of the customs of Charles VII. now remaining in France.

The Council of Basel having in vain deposed a pope, who on account of his worth and abilities continued to be acknowledged by all Europe, afterward set up in opposition to him a mere phantom. This was Amadeus VIII., duke of Savoy, who was the first of his family who had borne the title of duke, and afterward turned hermit at Ripaille, from a motive of devotion which Poggio is far from thinking real. Be that as it may, his devotion could not hold out against the temptation of being made pope. Accordingly he was declared supreme pontiff, though a layman; but that which had occasioned a violent schism and the most bloody wars in the time of Urban VI., now only produced a few ecclesiastical disputes, bulls, censures, mutual excommunications, and violent invectives: for as the council had called Eugenius simonist, schismatic, heretic, and perjured, Eugenius' secretary returned the abuse, by styling the fathers fools, madmen, and barbarians; and Amadeus, Cerberus, and Antichrist. In fine, in the

papacy of Nicholas V. this council dispersed gradually of itself; and this pope hermit, duke of Savoy, contented himself with a cardinal's hat, and left the Church in its usual tranquillity.

On the whole, this council is a proof of how greatly affairs change with the times. The fathers of the Council of Constance condemned John Huss and Jerome of Prague to the stake, notwithstanding their declaration of not adhering to the doctrine of Wycliffe, and the clear explanation they gave of the real presence, merely for persisting in the sentiments of Wycliffe relating to the Church hierarchy and discipline.

The Hussites, in the time of the Council of Basel, went much greater lengths than the founders of their sect had done; Procopius, surnamed the Shaven, the famous general, and successor of John Ziska, came to hold a disputation at this council, at the head of two hundred gentlemen of his party. He maintained, among other things, that "monks were an invention of the devil," and thus he offered to prove it: "Can you say," said he, "that they were instituted by Jesus Christ?" "We cannot," answered Cardinal Julian. "Well, then," replied Procopius, "it is clear it must have been by the devil." An argument truly worthy of a Bohemian captain in those days. Æneas Silvius, who was witness to this scene, says that they only answered Procopius by a general laugh; the Council of Constance answered John Huss and Jerome of Prague by a sentence of death.

We have seen how low the Greek emperors had fallen, during this council. They must have been approaching very near to ruin, when they went like beggars to Rome to sue for a feeble support, and sacrificed their religion to obtain it. Accordingly, a few years afterward, they were wholly subdued by the Turks, who took Constantinople. We shall now inquire into the causes and consequences of this revolution.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

FALL OF THE GREEK EMPIRE.

The Crusades, in depopulating the West, opened the breach by which the Turks at length entered into Constantinople; for the chiefs of these expeditions, by usurping the empire of the East, weakened it, and when the Greeks afterward recovered it from them, it was in a mangled and impoverished condition.

We must not forget that the Greeks recovered their empire in the year 1261; and that Michael Palæologus took it from the Latin usurpers, to deprive his pupil, John Lascaris, of the crown. We are also to recollect that in those days Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, invaded Naples and Sicily; and that, had it not been for the affair of the Sicilian Vespers, he would have disputed with the tyrant Palæologus the possession of Constantinople, destined to be a prey to usurpers.

This Michael Palæologus kept fair with the popes,

hoping to avert the storm which threatened him. He flattered them with the submission of the Greek Church; but his low politics were not sufficient to counterbalance the spirit of party and superstition which prevailed in his country; and he made himself so odious by his manner of proceeding, that his own son Andronicus, an unhappily bigoted schismatic, either dared not, or would not, grant him the rites of Christian burial in 1283.

The unhappy Greeks, though pressed on all sides by the Turks and Latins, were taken up with disputing about the transfiguration of Jesus Christ; one half of the empire pretending that the light upon Mount Tabor had been from all eternity, and the other half that it had been produced by God, only for the purpose of the transfiguration. In the meantime the Turks were strengthening themselves in Asia Minor, whence they soon overran Thrace.

Ottoman, from whom all the Osmanli emperors descended, had fixed the feast of his empire at Byrsa, in Bithynia. Orcan, his son, advanced as far as the borders of the Propontis, and Emperor John Cantacusenes was glad to give him his daughter in marriage. The nuptials were celebrated at Scutari, opposite Constantinople; soon after which Cantacusenes, finding himself unable to keep the empire which another disputed with him, retired into a monastery. An emperor, father-in-law to a Turkish sultan, and himself a monk, gave a strong presage of the fall of the empire.

The Turks wanted to pass into Europe, but were prevented for want of shipping. But so despicable was the condition of the empire at that time that the Genoese, for paying a small fine, were suffered to have possession of Galata, which is looked upon as one of the suburbs of Constantinople, and is separated from it only by a canal which forms the port. It is said that Sultan Amurath, son of this Orcan, engaged the Genoese to transport his soldiers to the other side of the straits. The bargain was concluded; and thus, it is said, did the Genoese for a few thousand gold besants, betray the empire into the hands of the Infidels; others say, that Amurath only made use of Genoese ships; however, he passed the straits with his army, and advanced to Adrianopolis, where he fixed his quarters, in 1357, and threatened all Christendom with an invasion. The emperor, John Palæologus, hastened to Rome, where he kissed the feet of Pope Urban V., acknowledged his primacy, and humbled himself in the most abject manner, for the sake of obtaining, through his mediation, the relief which the situation of Europe, and the fatal examples of the Crusades, would no longer admit of granting: therefore, after having in vain stooped to the pope, he returned to crouch beneath Amurath. He made a treaty with the sultan, not as a king with a king, but as a slave with his master, and at once served as a lieutenant and hostage to the Turkish conqueror. And, in 1374, after Amurath and this Palæologus had each of them put out

the eyes of his eldest son, of whom they were alike jealous, Palæologus gave his second son to the sultan; and this son, whose name was Manuel, served in the army of Amurath against the Christians.

Sultan Amurath was the first who gave to the janissary militia, which had been instituted before, that form under which it at present subsists. Being assassinated as he was pursuing his victories, he was succeeded by his son, Bajazet Ilderim, of Bajazet the Thunderbolt. The infamy and humiliation of the Greek emperors were now complete. Andronicus, the unhappy son of John Palæologus, whom his father had deprived of his sight, fled to Bajazet, in 1389, and implored his protection against his father, and his brother Manuel. Bajazet gave him four thousand horse; and the Genoese, who were still masters of Galata, furnished him with men and money. Andronicus, thus assisted by the Turks and Genoese, made himself master of Constantinople, and shut his father up in prison.

At the end of two years the father resumed the throne, and built a citadel near Galata, in order to stop the progress of Bajazet, who already began to project the siege of Constantinople. Bajazet commanded him to demolish the citadel, and admit a Turkish cadi into the city, as judge of the Turkish merchants who were settled there. This order the emperor complied with. In the meantime Bajazet, leaving Constantinople behind him, as a sure prey upon which he could fall at pleasure,

advanced into the midst of Hungary; there he gained a complete victory over the Christian army, and those brave French commanded by Sigismund, emperor of the West. The French, before the battle, put all their Turkish prisoners to the sword; we are not therefore to wonder that Bajazet, after his victory, ordered all the French prisoners he had taken to be put to death, they themselves having set him this cruel example. He reserved only twenty-five knights from the general slaughter, among whom was Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, whom Bajazet thus addressed while he was receiving his ransom: "I might oblige thee to swear never more to bear arms against me, but I equally despise thy oaths and thy arms."

After this defeat, Manuel, who had become emperor of the city of Constantinople, went to the several courts of Europe to petition for assistance, as his father had formerly done. He came to France; but he could not have applied at a less favorable juncture for assistance from that court: it was during the frenzy of Charles VI., when the kingdom was involved in numberless disorders. Manuel remained two years at Paris, while the capital of the Christians in the East was blocked up by the Turks, who at length laid siege to it in form, and its ruin seemed inevitable; but it was put off for some time by one of those great events which fill the world with confusion.

The dominion of the Mogul Tartars, of which

we have already seen the origin, extended from the Volga to the frontiers of China, and as far as the river Ganges. Tamerlane, one of the princes of these Tartars, reprieved Constantinople for a time by turning his arms against Bajazet.

CHAPTER LXXV.

TAMERLANE.

Timour, whom I shall call Tamerlane, in conformity with the general custom, was, according to the best historians, descended from Genghis Khan by the female side. He was born in the year 1357, in the city of Cash, in the territories of the ancient Sogdiana, whither the Greeks formerly penetrated under Alexander the Great, and settled some colonies. It is at present inhabited by the Usbeg Tartars. It begins at the borders of the Gihon, or Oxus; which river has its source in Lesser Thibet, about seven hundred leagues from the source of the Tigris and Euphrates. This is the river Gihon, which we find mentioned in the Book of Genesis.

At the mention of the city of Cash, we are ready to figure to ourselves a desert country. It lies, however, in the same latitude with Naples and Provence, and, in a word, is a delightful country.

At the name of Tamerlane, we are again apt to form an idea of a barbarian, little removed from a brute: but let it be remembered, as we have before observed, that there never was a great con-

queror among princes, nor in private life any person remarkably fortunate, without that kind of merit which always meets with success for its reward. Now, Tamerlane must undoubtedly have had the greater share of the merit peculiar to ambition, who, born without any dominions of his own, subdued more countries than Alexander, and almost as many as Genghis Khan. His first conquest was the city of Balk, the capital of Khorasan, on the borders of Persia. After that he subdued the province of Kandahar, and reduced all ancient Persia; then returning, he conquered the people of Transoxana, and made himself master of Bagdad. He went to India, which he also subdued, and took possession of Delhi, which is its capital. We find that all those who have made themselves masters of Persia have in like manner conquered or ravaged India. Thus Darius Ochus reduced it after many others; and after him Alexander, Genghis Khan, and Tamerlane found it an easy conquest. Shah Nadir in our time only showed himself there, gave it laws, and brought off immense treasures.

Tamerlane, after having conquered India, returned and fell upon Syria, whose capital city, Damascus, he took. He then hastened back to Bagdad, which he had lately conquered, and which now attempted to throw off his yoke: he reduced it, and gave it up to plunder and the sword. It is said that on this occasion more than eight hundred thousand inhabitants were put to death. The city was razed to

the foundations. In these countries cities were easily destroyed, and as easily rebuilt, the houses being, as we have elsewhere remarked, built only of bricks dried in the sun. It was in the midst of this series of victories that the Greek emperor, after having in vain solicited aid from the Christians, addressed himself at length to the Tartar. Five Mahometan princes, whom Bajazet had driven out of their kingdoms on the borders of the Pontus Euxinus, came at the same time to implore his assistance. Thus invited by Mussulmans and Christians, he marched into Asia Minor.

There is one circumstance which may give us an advantageous idea of Tamerlane's character, which is, that we find him, through the whole course of this war, strictly observant of the laws of nations. Before he began hostilities, he sent ambassadors to Bajazet, requiring him to raise the siege of Constantinople, and do justice to the Mussulman princes, whom he had deprived of their kingdoms. Bajazet received these proposals with the utmost rage and contempt; upon which Tamerlane declared war against him, and continued his march. Bajazet immediately raised the siege of Constantinople; and between Cæsarea and Ancira, in 1401, was fought that great battle, in which all the forces of the world seemed met together. Tamerlane's troops must doubtless have been extremely well disciplined; for, after a most obstinate resistance, they conquered those which had defeated the Greeks, the

Hungarians, the Germans, the French, and many other warlike nations. We may be almost certain that, on this occasion, Tamerlane, who till then had always fought with the bow and scimitar, made use of cannon against the Ottomans; and that it was he who sent those pieces of ordnance into the Mogul country which are to be seen there to this day, and on which are engraved certain unintelligible characters. The Turks, on their side, not only made use of cannon, but also of the ancient wild-fire. This double advantage would have infallibly given them the victory over Tamerlane, had he not made use of artillery.

Bajazet, in this battle, saw his son Mustapha slain, fighting by his side; and he himself fell captive into the hands of the conqueror, with another of his sons, named Musa, or Moses.

It may not be displeasing to know the consequences of this memorable battle, between two nations which seemed to dispute for the mastery of Europe and Asia, and two mighty conquerors, whose names are still celebrated by posterity; a battle likewise, which, for a time, preserved the Greek Empire from ruin, and might have contributed to the overthrow of the Turkish power.

The Turkish annals tell us that Tamerlane shut Bajazet up in an iron cage; but we meet with nothing like this in any of the Persian or Arabian authors who have written the life of Tamerlane. Is this then a story intended to render the memory

of Tamerlane odious? or rather, may we not suppose that the Turkish writers have copied from the Greek historians? The Arabian authors pretend that Tamerlane made Bajazet's queen wait on him at table half-naked; and this has given rise to the received fable, that the Turkish sultans have never married since this insult offered to the wife of their predecessor; a fable which is sufficiently contradicted by the marriage of Amurath II., whom we shall hereafter see espoused to the daughter of a despot of Servia, and by that of Mahomet II. with the daughter of a prince of Turcomania.

It is difficult to reconcile this story of the iron cage and the brutal insult offered to Bajazet's wife with that generosity which the Turks ascribe to Tamerlane, who tell us, that when this conqueror had entered into Bursa, or Prusa, the capital of the Turkish dominions in Asia, he wrote a letter to Bajazet's son, Solyman, which would have done honor even to Alexander himself. In this letter Tamerlane thus expresses himself: "I am desirous to forget that I have been the enemy of Bajazet, and will be a father to his children, provided they will wait the effects of my clemency. I am contented with the conquests I have already gained, and am not to be tempted by the hope of new favors from the hand of fickle fortune."

Supposing such a letter to have been really written, it was certainly no more than an artifice. The Turks say further, that Solyman, not hearkening to

this generous proposal of Tamerlane, that prince declared Musa, the other son of Bajazet, sultan in Bursa, and that on this occasion he said to him, "Receive the inheritance of thy father; a royal mind knows how to give as well as to conquer kingdoms."

The Oriental historians, as well as ours, frequently put words in the mouths of illustrious personages which were never spoken by them. This wondrous magnanimity toward the son does but ill agree with the barbarous treatment he is accused of toward the father. All that we can collect for certain, or that merits our attention, is, that this great victory of Tamerlane did not deprive the Turks of a single city: this Musa, whom he made sultan, and whom he protected in opposition to his two brothers, Solyman and Mahomet I., could not, even with his assistance, make head against them: and in the thirteen years' civil war which ensued between the children of Bajazet, Tamerlane does not seem to have gained any great advantage, which, together with the lack of success of this new sultan, clearly shows that the Turks were a truly warlike people, who, though they might be conquered, were not to be enslaved; and that the Tartar, finding that he could not easily extend his conquests, nor form a settlement in Asia Minor, turned his arms elsewhere.

His pretended magnanimity toward Bajazet's sons was certainly not the effect of his moderation; for we find him soon afterward ravaging all Syria,

which belonged to the Egyptian Mamelukes. He then repassed the Euphrates, and returned to the city of Samarcand, which he considered as the capital of his vast empire. He had conquered almost as great an extent of territory as Genghis Khan, for although this latter made himself master of a part of China and Korea, Tamerlane was for some time in possession of Syria and a part of Asia Minor, whither Genghis had never been able to penetrate. He was also master of almost all Hindostan; whereas Genghis had subdued only the northern provinces of that vast empire. While he remained at Samarcand, he meditated the conquest of China, although far from being firmly established in the immense dominions he already possessed, and at an age when his death could not be far distant.

It was in this city that he, like Genghis Khan, received the homage of several princes of Asia, and ambassadors from many sovereigns, particularly from the Greek emperor, Manuel, and even from Henry III., king of Castile. On this occasion he gave one of those feasts which resembled the magnificent entertainments given of old by the first kings of Persia. All the different orders of the state, and the several artificers, passed in review before him, each carrying the badge of their profession. He married all his grandsons and granddaughters in the same day: at length he died in an extreme old age, in 1406, after a reign of thirty-six years, happier with respect to his length of days,

and having lived to see his grandchildren happy, than Alexander, to whom the Orientals are so fond of comparing him; but otherwise far inferior to the Macedonian, being born in a barbarous nation, and having, like Genghis Khan, destroyed a multitude of cities without having built one; whereas Alexander, during the course of a very short life, and in the midst of his rapid conquests, built Alexandria and Scanderoon, and rebuilt this very city of Samarcand, which afterward became the seat of Tamerlane's empire, as likewise a number of other cities in India: he also established several colonies of Greeks beyond the Oxus, sent the astronomical observations of the Babylonians into Greece, and entirely changed the commerce of Asia, Europe, and Africa, making Alexandria the magazine of the universe; so far then, in my opinion, Alexander surpasses Tamerlane, Genghis, and all the conquerors who have been put up in competition with him.

I do not think that Tamerlane was of a more impetuous disposition than Alexander. If I may be permitted to enliven a little the history of these dreadful events, and to mix the little with the great, I shall relate a story which is told by a Persian writer contemporary with this prince. He says that a famous Persian poet, named Hamedi Kermani, being in the same bath with him and several of his courtiers, and diverting themselves at a game which consisted in setting a certain value upon every one in the company, "I should value you at thirty

aspers," said he to the great Khan. "Why, the napkin that I wipe myself with," replied the prince, "is worth that." "Yes," returned Hamedi, "I reckon the napkin likewise." Perhaps a prince who would suffer these innocent freedoms could not be thought to have a very cruel disposition; but great conquerors frequently divert themselves with the inferior part of mankind, and destroy others.

Tamerlane was neither a Mussulman, nor yet of the sect of Lama, but like the learned in China, acknowledged only one God, in which he gave a proof of that good understanding in which more civilized nations have been wanting. We meet with no marks of superstition either in himself or his followers. He alike tolerated the Mussulmans, the Lamians, and the other idolatrous sects which are spread over India. It is even said that, as he passed by Mount Libanus, he assisted at the religious ceremonies of the Maronite monks, who inhabited those mountains. His greatest foible was an attachment to judicial astrology, an error common to all men in those times, and from which we ourselves are but lately freed. He was not learned himself, but he took care to have his grandsons trained up in the knowledge of the sciences. The famous Oulougbeg, who succeed him in his dominions beyond the Oxus, founded in the city of Samarcand the first academy of sciences: he caused the measure of the earth to be taken, and helped to compose the astronomical tables which bore his name, as King Alphonso of

Castile had done near a century before. At present the grandeur of Samarcand is fallen with the sciences; and this country, now occupied by the Usbeg Tartars, is sunk again into barbarism, to become, perhaps, more flourishing in future times.

The posterity of Tamerlane still continue to reign in Hindostan, which is now called Mogul, a name it has retained from the Mogul Tartars, the followers of Genghis Khan, who preserved their conquests in that country till the time of Tamerlane. Another branch of his race reigned in Persia, till they were driven out by another dynasty of Tartarian princes of the faction of the White Sheep, in 1468.

And now, if we reflect that the Turks were also of Tartarian origin, and call to remembrance that Attila was descended from the same people, this will confirm what has been already observed, that the Tartars have made the conquest of almost the whole globe. The reason we have already seen. They had nothing to lose, and were the most robust and hardy of all other nations. But since the Oriental Tartars, after having made a second conquest of China in the last century, have formed only one empire of China and eastern Tartary; since the Russian empire has become more extensive and more civilized; and, since the earth has been covered with ramparts and lined with artillery, we are no longer in dread of these prodigious emigrations. The civilized nations are secure from the irruptions of these Barbarians. All

Tartary, excepting China, is now only the receptacle of a number of miserable tribes, who would esteem themselves happy to be conquered in their turn, were it not still more desirable to be free than to be civilized.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE TURKS AND GREEKS TILL THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

CONSTANTINOPLE was once out of danger by the victory which Tamerlane gained over Bajazet; but the successors of this sultan soon recovered their empire. The chief of Tamerlane's conquests were in Persia, Syria, India, Armenia, and part of Russia. The Turks quickly recovered Asia Minor, and kept all they had conquered in Europe. In those times there must certainly have been a more intimate correspondence, or at least not so great an aversion between the Mahometans and the Christians as there is at present. John Palæologus made no difficulty to give his daughter in marriage to Sultan Orcan; and Amurath II., grandson of Bajazet, and son of Mahomet I. very readily espoused Irene, daughter of a despot of Servia.

Amurath II. was one of those Turkish princes who contributed to raise the grandeur of the Ottoman family; but he was far from being the dupe to that glare and pomp which awaited the success of his arms. His sole view was to secure a quiet

retreat. It was somewhat singular to see a Turkish monarch so much the philosopher as to lay down his crown; yet this he did twice, and as often was in a manner obliged to resume it, at the repeated entreaties of his pashas and janissaries.

John Palæologus made a journey to Rome to meet the council which Pope Eugenius IV. had assembled at Florence. There he held a disputation upon the procession of the Holy Ghost; while the Venetians, who were already masters of one part of Greece, were purchasing Thessalonica, and the Christians and the Mahometans were dividing his empire between them. In the meantime, Amurath made himself master of Thessalonica, almost as soon as the Venetians had purchased it. The Venetians imagined they had sufficiently secured this country, and indeed provided for the defence of all Greece, by a wall eight hundred paces in length, in imitation of that built by the ancient Romans in the north of England. This might have been a sufficient defence against the incursions of a savage and undisciplined people, but availed little against the victorious arms of the Turkish militia. In short, they destroyed this wall, and pushed their invasion on all sides, into Greece, Dalmatia, and Hungary.

The Hungarians had raised to their throne young Ladislaus IV., king of Poland. With this prince, Amurath II., after having prosecuted the war for some years in Hungary, Thrace, and all the adjacent countries, with varied success, in 1444, concluded the

most solemn treaty of peace that had ever been made between the Christians and Mahometans. Amurath and Ladislaus took an oath to each other, the one on the Koran, and the other on the Gospels, by which the Turk on his side promised to push his conquests no farther, and even restored part of what he had taken. By this treaty the limits of the Ottoman possessions were settled as well as those of the Hungarians and Venetians.

But Cardinal Julian Cesarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man famous for his persecutions of the Hussites, for having been president of the Council of Basel at its first sitting, and for the crusade which he preached against the Turks, proved on this occasion, by his blind zeal, the cause of the greatest disgrace and misfortunes to the Christians.

The treaty of peace was scarcely ratified when this cardinal endeavored to break it. He flattered himself with being able to engage the Venetians and Genoese to assemble a formidable fleet; and that the Greeks, roused from their long lethargy, would make one last effort for the preservation of their liberties. The opportunity was certainly favorable; as it was at this very time that Amurath, relying on the faith of this treaty, had devoted himself to retirement, and had resigned the government to his son Mahomet, a young and inexperienced prince.

Some pretext, however, was wanting for the violation of this treaty on the side of the Christians.

Amurath had observed all the conditions of the peace with an exactness which left those who infringed it without an excuse. The legate therefore had no other resource left but to persuade Ladislaus, the Hungarians, and Polish chiefs that it was lawful to violate their oath. For this purpose he harangued and wrote, and assured them that the peace which they had sworn upon the Gospels was of no effect, as having been done contrary to the inclination of the pope. In fact, Eugenius IV., the then pope, wrote to Ladislaus, commanding him in express terms, "To break a peace which could not lawfully be made without the knowledge of the holy see." We have already seen that they had introduced the maxim that no faith was to be kept with heretics. It was, therefore, concluded that no faith was to be kept with Mahometans.

In just the same manner did ancient Rome break her truce with Carthage in the last Punic war. But there was a considerable difference between the two events. The infidelity of the Roman senate was the oppressive act of a conqueror; that of the Christians the effort of an oppressed people to throw off the yoke of usurpers. In fine, Julian prevailed; and all the chiefs suffered themselves to be carried away by the torrent, especially John Corvinus Huniades, the famous Hungarian general, who so frequently engaged Amurath and Mahomet II.

Ladislaus, seduced by false hopes, and a manner

of thinking which success alone can justify, invaded the sultan's territories. The janissaries upon this went in a body to beseech Amurath to quit his retirement, and put himself at their head, to which he consented; and the two armies met near the Pontus Euxinus, in that country now known by the name of Bulgaria, but which was then called Mœsia. The battle was fought near the city of Varna, in 1444. Amurath wore in his bosom the treaty of peace which he had concluded with the Christians, and which they had so lately infringed; and holding it up in the midst of the crowd, at a time that he found his troops began to give way, he called aloud to God, beseeching Him to punish the perjured Christians, and revenge the insult offered to the laws of nations. This is what has given rise to the fabulous report, that the peace was sworn on the eucharist, and the host deposited in the hands of Amurath, and that it was to this host that he addressed himself in the day of battle. Perjury for this time met with the punishment it deserved. The Christians were defeated after an obstinate resistance. King Ladislaus, after receiving a number of wounds, had his head struck off by a janissary, who carried it in triumph through the ranks of the Turkish army; at this fatal sight the rout of the Christians became general.

Amurath, after his victory, caused the body of Ladislaus to be buried in the field of battle, with all military honors. It is even said that he caused

a pillar to be erected on his grave; with an inscription, which was so far from insulting his memory, that it extolled his courage, and lamented his misfortunes.

Some writers say that Cardinal Julian, who was present at this battle, endeavoring to cross a river in his flight, was drowned by the weight of gold which he carried about him. Others again say that he was slain by the Hungarians. It is certain that he perished on that day.

But what is most remarkable is, that Amurath, after having gained this signal victory, betook himself again to solitude; and a second time abdicated the crown, which he was afterward obliged to resume, to go forth again to battle, and to conquer.

At length he died in Adrianopolis, in 1451, leaving the empire to his son, Mahomet II., who strove rather to imitate his father's courage than his philosophy.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

SCANDERBEG.

ANOTHER warrior of no less fame, whom I know not whether to call an Osmanist or Christian, checks the progress of Amurath's arms, and for a long time becomes a rampart for the Christians against the victories of Mahomet II. The person I mean

is Scanderbeg, who was born in Albania, a province of Epirus, a country illustrious in the times we call heroic, and in those truly heroic ages of the Romans. His true name was John Castriot. He was the son of a despot or petty king of that country, that is to say, a vassal prince; for this is the meaning of the word "despot;" and it is surprising that the term "despotic" should have been applied to great sovereigns who had rendered themselves absolute.

After the death of old Castriot, and several years before the battle of Varna already mentioned, Sultan Amurath made himself master of Albania, while this John Castriot, who was the only survivor of four brothers, was yet a child. Amurath had him carefully brought up. The Turkish annals do not make the least mention of the three other princes having been put to death by Amurath; nor does it at all appear that such barbarity could agree with the character of a sultan who had twice resigned his crown; and it is as little probable that Amurath should have shown such tenderness and confidence for a person from whom he could expect no return but an implacable hatred. He loaded him with favors, and would always have him fight by his side. The young Castriot distinguished himself so greatly in several engagements, that the sultan and the janissaries gave him the name of Scanderbeg, which signifies Lord Alexander.

At length, friendship getting the better of policy,

Amurath entrusted him with the command of a small army against the despot of Servia, who had sided with the Christians and declared war against the sultan, his son-in-law. Scanderbeg, who was at that time barely twenty years of age, conceived the bold design of throwing off subjection, and reigning for himself.

He knew that the secretary, who had the custody of the sultan's signet, was to pass near his camp. He caused him to be seized, loaded with chains, and compelled him to write, and put the sultan's seal to an order, enjoining the governor of Croia, the capital of Epirus, to deliver the town and citadel to Scanderbeg.

After having despatched this order, he assassinated the secretary and all those of his train. He then, in 1443, marched with all diligence to Croia, which the governor, without hesitation, delivered up to him. The same night he caused a body of Albanians, with whom he had held a private correspondence, to advance, who, entering the city, put the governor and his garrison to the sword, and afterward assisted Scanderberg in reducing all Albania. The Albanians are reckoned the best soldiers of those countries; and Scanderbeg knew so well how to manage them, and to take advantage of the situation of that craggy and mountainous country, that, with a handful of troops, he effectually opposed the numerous armies of the Turks.

The Mussulmans look upon him as a perfidious

wretch: but, after all, he only deceived his enemies. He recovered the possession of his father's crown, and deserved to wear it for his heroic courage.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.

HAD the Greek emperors acted like Scanderbeg, the empire of the East might still have been preserved. But the same spirit of cruelty, weakness, discord, and superstition which had shaken it for such a length of time, now hastened its final overthrow.

There were no less than three empires of the East, so called, when in reality there was but one. The city of Constantinople, which was in the hands of the Greeks; Adrianople, the asylum of the Lascaris family, till taken by Amurath I., in 1362, and which has ever since belonged to the sultans; and a barbarous province of the ancient Colchis, called Trebizond, which served for a retreat to the Comneni, was the third reputed empire.

This dismembering of the empire was, as we have already observed, the only considerable effect produced by the Crusades. Ravaged as it had been by the Franks, and retaken again by its former masters, only to undergo new desolation, it is surprising that it subsisted so long. There were two parties in Constantinople, bitter enemies to each other on the score of religion, as was nearly the case in Jerusalem, when that city was besieged by Vespasian and

Titus. One of these factions was for the emperor, who, through the vain hope of aid from the Latins, had consented to subject the Greek Church to that of Rome. The other was composed of the priests and the people, who, having fresh in their memories the invasion of the Crusaders, utterly abhorred the thoughts of a union of the two churches. While these two factions were taken up with their mutual bickerings and controversial disputes, the Turks appeared at their gates.

John VII., surnamed Palæologus, reigned in Constantinople twenty-seven years; and at his death, which happened in 1449, he left the empire in so weak a condition that one of his sons, called Constantine, was obliged to receive the confirmation of the imperial dignity from the Turkish sultan, Amurath II., as from his lord paramount. A brother of this Constantine had Lacedæmonia, another Corinth, and a third all that part of Peloponnesus which did not belong to the Venetians.

Such was the situation of the Greeks, when Mahomet Bouyouck, or the Great, succeeded Sultan Amurath, his father, for the second time. The monkish writers have described this prince as a senseless barbarian, who at one time cut off the head of his supposed mistress, Irene, to appease a sedition of the janissaries; and at another, ordered fourteen of his pages to have their bellies ripped open, in order to discover which of them had eaten a melon that was missing. We still find some of

these absurd stories in our biographical dictionaries, which have for a long time been little better than alphabetical registers of falsehoods.

All the Turkish annals inform us that Mahomet was one of the best educated princes of his time. What we have already observed concerning his father, Amurath, sufficiently proves that he was not likely to neglect the education of a son who was to succeed him in the kingdom. Nor has it ever been denied that Mahomet behaved with all filial respect and duty, and without hearkening to the dictates of ambition, in cheerfully yielding the throne to his father when he wished to resume it. He twice returned to the degree of subject from that of king, without showing the least signs of discontent. This is an action unparalleled in history; and so much the more extraordinary, as Mahomet to an ambitious spirit added a fiery and impetuous disposition.

He spoke the Greek, Arabian, and Persian languages, understood Latin and designing, and knew as much of geography and mathematics as could be known in those times. He was fond of painting; and every lover of the liberal arts knows that he sent for the famous Gentili Bellino from Venice, and rewarded him, as Alexander did Apelles, not only with a pecuniary gratification, but with the indulgence of his private friendship; he presented him with a golden crown and chain, and three thousand gold ducats; and sent him home loaded with honors. And here I cannot help classing among the rank

of improbable tales, that of the slave whose head Mahomet is said to have cut off, to show Bellino the action of the skin and muscles in a neck separated from the trunk. These cruelties, though exercised by us upon animals, to answer certain purposes, are never practised by mankind on one another, unless in the heat of fury and revenge, or agreeable to the law of arms. Mahomet II. was frequently guilty of cruel and savage actions, like all other conquerors who have ravaged the earth; but why impute cruelties of so improbable a nature to him; or wherefore take delight in multiplying horrid relations?

He was twenty-two years of age when he ascended the throne of the sultans, and immediately formed the design of placing himself on that of Constantinople, while this wretched city was running into religious factions about using leavened or unleavened bread, or praying in Latin or in Greek.

In 1453, he began by blocking up the city on the side of Europe and Asia. At length, in the beginning of April, he covered the whole adjacent country with his troops, which the exaggerated relations of the writers of those times have made to amount to three hundred thousand, and entered the straits of Propontis with three hundred galleys and two hundred other smaller vessels.

One of the most extraordinary and best attested facts, is the use which Mahomet made of a part of these vessels. As he could not enter the harbor

of Constantinople, by reason of the great chains and booms which the enemy had laid across it and which from their advantageous situation, they were able to defend against all attempts, he, in one night's time, covered a space of nearly two leagues, on the shore, with deal planks besmeared with grease and tallow, and made in the form of a ship's cradle, and, with the help of engines and a prodigious number of men, he drew up eighty galleys and seventy of the smaller vessels, out of the water upon these planks, whence he launched them all into the harbor. And this amazing work was completed in the space of one night, so that the next morning the besieged were surprised with the sight of a large fleet of ships riding in the midst of their port. The same day he caused a bridge of boats to be built across the harbor in their sight, on which he raised a battery of cannon.

Assuredly Constantinople must have been very deficient in artillery, or the artillery must have been very badly served. Else what prevented the besieged from beating this bridge of boats to pieces with their cannon? Rather doubtful is also what is said of Mahomet's making use of cannon that carried balls of two hundred pounds weight. The conquered always exaggerate matters. It is plain that one of these balls would require near a hundredweight of powder to throw it to any distance. Now such a quantity of powder could never be fired all at once, and the ball would be discharged from the

cannon before the fifteenth part of the powder could take fire, consequently it would have very little effect. Perhaps the Turks might, through ignorance, have made use of such cannon, and through a like ignorance, the Greeks might be terrified at the appearance of them.

In the beginning of May, the Turks began to make several assaults on that city, which thought itself the capital of the world. Constantinople was then very weakly fortified, and not better defended. The emperor, in conjunction with a cardinal of Rome, named Isidore, performed his devotions according to the Romish ritual, which at once exasperated and discouraged his Greek subjects, who would not so much as enter the churches which he frequented, declaring, "They had rather see a Turkish turban in their churches, than a cardinal's hat."

In former times almost all the princes of Christendom, under pretence of a holy war, had joined together to invade this metropolis and bulwark of the Christian world, and now that it was attacked by the enemies to the faith, not one stirred in its defence.

Emperor Frederick III. was neither sufficiently enterprising nor powerful to attempt anything for its relief. Poland was under too bad an administration. France was but just recovered from the miserable state to which she had been reduced by her wars at home, and those she had been engaged in against the English. England began to be divided and

weak. The duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, was indeed a powerful prince, but he had too much understanding to revive the Crusades alone, and was too old to bear a share in such enterprises. The Italian princes were engaged in war with each other. The kingdoms of Aragon and Castile were not yet united, and a great part of Spain was still in the possession of the Moors.

In short, there were but two sovereigns in Europe capable of encouraging Mahomet II. These were John Huniades, prince of Transylvania, who could hardly defend his own territories; and the famous Scanderbeg, who had enough to do to keep possession of the mountains of Epirus, like Pelagius Tudomer, heretofore in those of Asturias, when the Moors overran Spain. Four Genoese ships, of which one belonged to Emperor Frederick III., were almost all the assistance the Christian world could at that time afford Constantinople. This unfortunate city was commanded by a foreigner, whose name was Justiniani, a native of Genoa. An edifice reduced to such props must infallibly fall to ruin. The ancient Greeks never had a Persian for a chief, nor was the Roman republic ever headed by a Gaul. Constantinople, therefore, must necessarily be taken, and it was so; but in a manner entirely different from that we find related in all our authors, who have copied after Ducas and Calcondilus.

The Turkish annals, collected and digested by

the late Prince Demetrius Cantemir at Constantinople, inform us, that, after having sustained a siege of seven weeks, Emperor Constantine was at length obliged to capitulate; and that he sent Greek deputies to receive the laws the conqueror should please to impose on them. Several articles were agreed upon at this meeting: but, as the Greek envoys were returning to the city, Mahomet, who had something further to say to them, despatched a body of men to bring them back to his camp. The besieged, who from the walls beheld a large troop of armed Turks in full pursuit — as they thought — of their deputies, imprudently fired on them. This party was instantly joined by a much greater number. The envoys got into the city by one of the posterns, and the Turks entered pell-mell with them, and soon made themselves masters of the upper town, which is separated from the lower. The emperor Constantine was killed in the crowd; and Mahomet thereupon turned the imperial palace into a palace for himself, and made the cathedral church of St. Sophia a Turkish mosque.

Being thus master, by right of conquest, of one half of Constantinople, he had the humanity or policy to offer the same terms of capitulation to that part which still held out as he had proposed to grant to the whole city; and religiously observed his agreement. This fact is so true, that all the Christian churches of the lower town remained till the reign of his grandson Selim, who ordered

several of them to be demolished. The Turks called them the mosques of Issevi, Issevi being the Turkish name for Jesus. The church of the Greek patriarch still remains in Constantinople, on the canal of the Black Sea; and the Ottoman emperors have permitted an academy to be founded in that quarter of the city where the modern Greeks teach the ancient language, now almost entirely disused, the Aristotelian philosophy, divinity, and physic: and in this school were educated Constantine Ducas, Maurocordatos, and Demetrius Cantemir, afterward made princes of Transylvania by the Turks. I must acknowledge that Demetrius Cantemir abounds with a great number of old fabulous stories; but he could not be deceived in relation to the modern monuments, which were before his eyes, nor the academy in which he himself was brought up.

The Christians are still indulged with a church and one street in the city to themselves, in consideration of a Greek architect named Christobulus, whom Mahomet II. employed to build a new mosque on the ruins of the Holy Apostles, an ancient edifice built by the empress Theodora, wife of the emperor Justinian. This architect succeeded so well that his building proved little inferior in beauty to the famous mosque of St. Sophia. He was also employed by the sultan's orders in building eight public schools, and the same number of hospitals, all belonging to this mosque; and, as a reward for

his services, the sultan granted him the street just mentioned, which still remains in the possession of his family. It may not perhaps appear a fact worthy a place in history, that an architect was rewarded with the grant of a street; but it is of some importance to know that the Turks do not always behave in that cruel and brutal manner to Christians which we are apt to imagine they do. Whole nations have been misled by the errors of historians: a number of Oriental writers have asserted that the Turks adored Venus, and denied the providence of a God. Grotius himself tells us after others, that Mahomet, the great false prophet of the Turks, had trained up a pigeon to fly to his ear, and made the people believe that it was the spirit of God who came to instruct him under that form; and we find as many ridiculous stories related concerning the great conqueror, Mahomet II.

One evident proof that Mahomet was a prince of more knowledge and policy than he is usually supposed to have been, and notwithstanding all that Cardinal Isidore and others may say to the contrary, is, that he allowed the conquered Christians the liberty of choosing their own patriarch; he even performed the ceremony of installation himself, with the usual solemnities, and invested him with the crosier and ring, which the emperors of the West had not dared to do for a long time, and departed in no one point from the accustomed ceremony, unless it was in conducting the patriarch-elect, Gennadius,

to the gate of his palace, who told the sultan on this occasion that he was confounded at receiving an honor which no one of the Christian emperors had ever bestowed upon his predecessors. Since that time the Ottoman emperors have always made one patriarch, who is called the ecumenical patriarch, and the pope another, who is called the Latin patriarch. Each of these patriarchs is taxed by the divan in a certain sum, which he pays as a ransom for his flock. The two churches, though groaning alike under the yoke of bondage, were still at irreconcilable enmity with each other; and the sultans were frequently obliged to interpose their authority, in order to put an end to their disputes; thus becoming the moderators, as well as conquerors of the Christians.

But the Turkish victors have not acted with regard to the Greeks as they did in the tenth and eleventh centuries by the Arabians, whose language, religion, and customs they adopted, after having conquered them. When the Turks subdued the Arabians, they were in most things utterly barbarous; but when they made the conquest of the Greek Empire, the constitution of their government had been long formed. Besides, they had a veneration for the Arabians; but they despised the Greeks, and never had any other intercourse with them than that of masters with their slaves, and still preserved the same customs and laws as at the time of their conquest. The body of Yenghi-Cheris, or janissa-

ries, was kept up in full vigor, to the number of forty-five thousand. The soldiers of no nation whatever had such ample allowance as these janissaries: each oda, or captain, has always a purveyor, who supplies his troops with mutton, rice, butter, pulse, and bread in great plenty.

The Turkish sultans have continued in Europe the ancient customs they practiced in Asia, that of rewarding their soldiers with fiefs for life, and some of them hereditary. They did not derive this custom from the Arabian caliphs, whom they conquered, the Arabian government being founded on different principles. But it was always the custom of the western Tartars to divide the lands of the conquered, and this institution they established in Europe as early as the fifth century, an institution which necessarily attaches the conquerors to a country which is become their inheritance; and those nations who mixed with them, such as the Lombards, the Franks, and the Ottomans, followed the same plan. Tamerlane carried this custom with him into the Indies, where we still find several very powerful lords of fiefs, under the titles of Omras, Rajas, and Nabobs. But the Ottomans gave only small portions of lands to their soldiery, and their zaimets and timariots are rather farms than lordships. This is a truly warlike institution; for if a zaim dies in the field, his children share his fief between them; but if he dies at home, the beglerbeg, that is, the captain-general of the province, has a

right of disposing of this military benefice. And these zaims and timars, like our ancient Franks, claim no privileges of title, jurisdiction, or nobility, but only according to the number of soldiers they furnish or bring into the field.

From the same military school they take all their cadihs and mollahs, who are the common judges, as likewise the two cadi-leskers of Europe and Asia, who are judges of the provinces and armies, and who, under the mufti, have the care of the religion and laws. The mufti and the cadi-leskers have always been alike subject to the divan. The dervishes, a kind of mendicant monks among the Turks, though grown more numerous of late, still preserve their ancient form. The custom of building caravansaries for the convenience of travellers, and schools and hospitals near all the mosques, still subsists. In a word, the Turks are in all things the same people they were, not only when they took Constantinople, but at their first coming into Europe.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

PROGRESS OF THE TURKS.

DURING a reign of thirty-one years, Mahomet II. proceeded from conquest to conquest, without any of the princes of Europe joining in league against him; for we cannot give the name of league to the short alliance entered into between John Huniades, prince of Transylvania, the king of Hungary, and a

despot of Black Russia. This famous warrior, Huniades, gave proofs that, had he been better supported, the Christians would never have lost all those territories which the Turks are now possessed of in Europe. Three years after the taking of Constantinople, he obliged Mahomet II. to raise the siege of Belgrade.

At the same time also the Persians fell upon the Turks, and turned back that torrent which threatened to overflow all Christendom. Ussum Khan, surnamed the White Ram, a descendant of Tamerlane, and governor of Armenia, had lately subdued Persia; he now entered into alliance with the Christians, and this first gave them the hint of uniting together against the common enemy: he married the daughter of David Comnenus, emperor of Trebizond. It was held unlawful for Christians to marry their godmother or their cousin; but we see that in Greece, Spain, and Asia they made no scruple of marrying with those of a contrary faith.

The Tartar, Ussum Khan, son-in-law of the Christian emperor, Comnenus, attacked Mahomet near the Euphrates. This favorable opportunity for the Christians was again neglected, and they suffered Mahomet, after various successes, to make peace with the Persian, and afterward to become master of Trebizond, with a part of Cappadocia annexed to it; to turn his arms upon Greece, and take Negropont; then to march back toward the Black Sea and seize upon Caffa, the ancient Theo-

dosia, rebuilt by the Genoese; and afterward to reduce Scutari, Zante, Cephalonia, and even to push his conquests as far as Trieste in the port of Venice, till at length he fixed the seat of Mahometan power in the midst of Calabria, whence he threatened all Italy, and where his lieutenants remained till some time after his death. Rhodes escaped his arms, but this did not make him less formidable to the rest of the West.

He had conquered Epirus, after the death of Scanderbeg. The Venetians had the courage to oppose his arms, for at this time their power was in its zenith; they had extensive territories on the mainland, their fleets braved those of Mahomet, and they even made themselves masters of Athens; but at length this republic, for want of being properly assisted, was obliged to give way, restore Athens, and purchase by annual tribute the liberty of trading in the Black Sea, hoping to recover her losses by that commerce which had laid the first foundation of her grandeur; but not long after she sustained more injury from Pope Julius II. and almost every one of the Christian princes than she had done by all the power of the Ottoman arms.

In the meantime, Mahomet II. turned his victorious arms against the Mameluke sultans of Egypt, while his lieutenants were employed in Naples; at length he flattered himself with making the conquest of Rome, as he had done that of Constantinople; and being told one day of the ceremony with

which the doge of Venice once a year espouses the Adriatic Sea, he made answer that he would quickly send him to the bottom of that sea to consummate his nuptials. However, a violent fit of colic delivered the world from him, in 1481, at the age of fifty-one years. But the Ottomans have, nevertheless, remained in possession of a far more beautiful country in Europe than even the whole of Italy, and the birthplace of Leonidas, Miltiades, Alexander, Sophocles, and Plato sank beneath a barbarous yoke. From that time the Greek language became corrupted, and there remained hardly any traces of the arts; for, although there was a Greek academy at Constantinople, it was certainly very different from that of Athens; and the six thousand monks which the Ottoman sultans permit to live on Mount Athos, have as yet been unable to revive the liberal arts in this empire. Formerly this very city of Constantinople was under the protection of Athens, and the province of Chalcedonia was tributary to it; and the king of Thrace sued for the honor of being admitted as one of its citizens. At present the descendants of the old Tartars are masters of these beautiful regions, and the name of Greece has become in a manner extinct. Nevertheless, we shall always hold the little city of Athens in higher veneration than the Turkish power, were it to spread over the whole earth.

The Greeks remained in a state of oppression, but not of slavery; they were left the exercise of their

religion and laws, and the Turks behaved to them as the Arabians had done to the people of Spain. The Greek families still continue to live peaceably in their native country, though in obscurity and contempt; they paid but a slight tribute, and employed themselves in trade and agriculture; their towns and villages still continued to have their Protogeros, who decided their differences, and their patriarch was supported in an honorable manner by them. He must have had a considerable revenue, since upon his installation he was obliged to pay four thousand ducats into the sultan's treasury, and a like sum to the officers of the Porte.

The greatest mark of subjection the Greeks labored under was that of being obliged to furnish the sultans with a number of children to serve in their seraglios, or in their janissary militia. Every father of a family was obliged to give one of his sons, or purchase his freedom with a fine. There are still certain Christian provinces in Europe where it is an established custom to set apart one of their children from the birth, to carry arms. The children given to the Turkish sultans were brought up in the seraglio, where they frequently made very great fortunes. Nor was their condition among the janissaries to be despised. It is a strong proof of the force of education, and of the extraordinary changes in this world, that most of these haughty enemies to the Christian name, were born of oppressed Christians; and a still more lively proof

of that invincible fatality by which the Supreme Being links together all the events of the universe, is that the emperor Constantine should have built Constantinople for the Turks, as Romulus had so many ages before laid the foundation of the Capitol for the heads of the Christian Church.

And here I think myself obliged to refute one false notion, namely, that the Turkish government is of that absurd form called despotic! that the people are all slaves to their sultans; that they have no property of their own, but are in their lives and fortunes wholly at the mercy of their masters. Such an administration must necessarily destroy itself. It would be very extraordinary that the conquered Greeks should not be slaves, and that their conquerors should. Some travellers have supposed that a sultan was lord of all the lands in his empire, because he disposed of certain timariots (or estates for life), as the kings of France formerly bestowed military fiefs; but these gentlemen should consider that there are laws of inheritance in Turkey as well as in all other countries.

It is true that all the movable effects belonging to a pasha at the time of his demise fall to the sultan, who usually gives a part of them to his family; but it was an established custom in Europe at the time when fiefs were not hereditary, and long after, for bishops to inherit the movables of the inferior clergy; and the popes claimed the same right on the estates of cardinals, and all others possessed of

church livings, who died within the residence of the chief pontiff.

The Turks are not only all of them free, but they have not even the distinction of nobility among them, and are strangers to any other superiority than that of employ in the state.

They are in their manners at once fierce, haughty, and effeminate; their ferocity they derive from their ancestors, the Scythians, and their effeminacy from Greece and Asia. Their pride is beyond all bounds. They are conquerors and they are ignorant; this makes them despise all other nations.

The form of the Ottoman government is not like that of France and Spain, monarchial and gently authoritative; it still less resembles that of Germany, which in length of time has become a republic of princes and cities, under one supreme head called an emperor. It has nothing of the Polish form of administration, where the peasants are all slaves, and the nobles kings. Lastly, it is as different from that of England in its constitution as in its climate.

And yet we are not to imagine that it is altogether an arbitrary government, where the law permits a single person to sacrifice the lives of thousands to his caprice, like so many beasts kept in a park for his diversion.

We are apt, through prejudice, to believe that a chiaoux may go with a staff in his hand, and demand, in the name of the sultan, of the master of a family, all the money he has by him, and his

daughters, for the use of his master. There are doubtless several horrible abuses in the Turkish administration: but in general these abuses are much less fatal to the people than to those who have a share in the government; for these chiefly feel the weight of the despotic authority. The private sentence of a divan is sufficient to strike off the heads of the greatest officers of state on the most trifling suspicions, there being no supreme court established in this country to enforce a respect for the laws and the person of the anointed sovereign; no barrier opposed in the constitution of the state to the injustice or maladministration of a vizier; therefore few resources for the subject, when oppressed, or the monarch when resisted; and this prince, who passes for the most powerful in the world, is of all others the least firmly settled on his throne. The revolution of a single day is frequently sufficient to snatch the crown from him; and in this the Turks have imitated the manners of the Greek Empire which they conquered, only they have more respect for the Ottoman family than the Greeks had for that of their emperors; they depose, they murder their sultan, but it is always in favor of the nearest relative; the Greek Empire, on the contrary, has passed by assassinations into twenty different families.

The fear of being deposed is a stronger curb upon the Turkish sultan than all the laws of the Koran; and, though absolute master in his own seraglio,

and of the lives of all his officers by means of the mufti's fetfa, he cannot alter the customs of the empire, he cannot increase the taxes, nor can he touch the public money; he has his private treasury entirely distinct and apart from the public one.

The condition of sultan is, in general, the most indolent upon earth, as that of grand vizier is the most laborious. The minister is obliged to act at the same time as constable, chancellor, and chief president, and the reward for all his labors is frequently exile or the bowstring.

The office of pasha is altogether as dangerous, and many pashas are known to have ended their days by a violent death. But all this only proves that the people in Turkey had contracted a habit of cruelty and fierceness, the same as prevailed for a considerable time among the Christians themselves throughout Europe, when so many heads were lost upon the scaffold; when La Brosse, the favorite of St. Louis, was hanged; when the prime minister, Laguette, died upon the rack in the reign of Charles the Fair; when Charles de la Cerda, constable of France, was put to death by King John without form of trial; when Angueran de Marigni was hanged upon the same gallows which he himself had ordered to be erected at Montfaucon; and the dead body of the prime minister, Montaign, was carried and hung on the same gibbet; in a word, when the grand master of the Knights Templars expired in the midst of the flames, and numberless

cruelties of the same kind were common in monarchial governments. We should greatly deceive ourselves then, if we were to suppose that those barbarities were the effects of absolute power. There never was any one of the Christian potentates despotic, nor is the grand seignior so. Several sultans, as Mahomet II., Selim, and Solyman, have indeed made the laws give way to their wills. But how few conquerors meet with contradiction from their subjects? In a word, our historians have grossly imposed upon us in representing the Ottoman Empire as a government whose essence is despotism.

Count de Marsigli, who knows more of the matter than any of them, expresses himself thus: "In almost all our histories we find the authority exercised by the sultans represented as highly despotic; but how distant is this from the truth!" "The janissary militia," adds he, "which they call 'Capiculi,' and which always resides in Constantinople, has by its laws the power of imprisoning the sultan, and even of putting him to death, and appointing a successor." A little farther on he says that the grand seignior is frequently obliged to consult the political and military part of the state before he can make war or peace.

Neither are the pashas so absolute in their provinces as we in general believe, but depend upon their divan. The chief citizens have a right to complain of their conduct, and present their remonstrances to the great divan of Constantinople. In fine, Mar-

sigli concludes by giving the Turkish government the title of a democracy. It is such in fact, and much resembles that of Tunis and Algiers. These mighty sultans then, whom the common people dare not look upon (and those persons are not to be approached but with a submission which seems to border upon adoration), these sultans, I say, have only the exterior of despotism, and are really absolute no longer than they can safely exercise that fury of arbitrary power which seems born with all men. Louis XI., Henry VIII., and Sextus V. were as despotic princes as any sultan.

If we were to examine in the same manner into the secrets of the sovereign authority in the other kingdoms of Asia, which are still in a manner unknown to us, we should find much less despotism in the world than we in general imagine. Even in Europe we have seen princes, the vassals of other princes not absolute, assume a greater degree of arbitrary power in their own dominions than was ever exercised by the emperors of Persia or India: and yet it would be erroneous to suppose that the dominions of such princes were by their constitution essentially despotic.

All the histories of modern nations, excepting perhaps those of England and Germany, have given us false notions of things; because they have rarely distinguished between times and persons, abuses and laws, accidental events and established customs.

We should again be deceived, if we were to look upon the Turkish government as a uniform administration, and that every day the sultan can, from his seraglio, by his courtiers, despatch the same orders to all the different provinces in his dominions. This vast empire, which has been formed at different times, and by successive victories, and which we shall find continually increasing till the eighteenth century, is composed of a thousand different nations, all different in language, religion, and customs. They are Greeks from ancient Ionia, the coasts of Asia Minor and Achaia, inhabitants of ancient Colchis, and of the Taurica Chersonesus; they are Getæ become Christians, known by the names of Wallachians and Moldavians; they are Arabs, Armenians, Bulgarians, Illyrians, and Jews; lastly, they are Egyptians, and the descendants from the people of ancient Carthage, whom we shall presently see swallowed up by the Ottoman power. And all these different nations have been conquered and kept in subjection by the Turkish militia alone. They are all governed differently: some have princes set over them, who are nominated by the Porte; such as Wallachia, Moldavia, and Crimea. The Greeks live under a municipal government, dependent upon a pasha. The number of the conquered is immense, if compared with that of the victors; for there are but very few natural-born Turks; none of these follow agriculture, and a very inconsiderable number apply themselves to the arts. It may

be said of them, as Virgil heretofore said of the Romans, "Their art is to conquer and command." The chief difference between the Turkish and the ancient Roman conquerors is, that Rome incorporated all the nations she conquered, whereas the Turks always keep themselves separate from those they have subdued, and in the midst of whom they live.

There remained indeed three hundred thousand Greeks in Constantinople, after that city was taken; but these were only artificers or tradesmen, who worked for their new masters, a people wholly under subjection in their own capital, and not permitted even to dress like the Turks.

To this observation let me add another, namely, that this vast tract of country, from the Archipelago to the Euphrates, was conquered by one single power; whereas, the united powers of twenty potentates in the Crusades, with more than twenty times the number of forces, were not able, after the labors of two whole centuries, to establish one lasting state in these same countries.

Ricault, who resided a considerable time in Turkey, attributes the lasting power of the Ottoman Empire to something supernatural. He cannot otherwise conceive that this government, which depends so frequently upon the caprice of the janissaries, could have supported itself against the turbulency of its own soldiers and the attacks of its enemies. But to this we may reply that the Roman Empire

supported itself five hundred years in Rome, and nearly fourteen centuries in the Levant, in the midst of seditions and tumults; and though the imperial succession has been frequently changed, the throne has still remained the same. Now the Turks have a veneration for the Ottoman race, which is to them a fundamental law that they can never think of violating: the government has been frequently wrested out of the hands of the sultan; but, as we have already remarked, it never passes into a strange family. The constitution itself has nothing to fear, though the monarch and his viziers are frequently made to tremble.

Hitherto this empire has defied all foreign invasions. The Persians have rarely penetrated into the Turkish frontiers: on the contrary, we shall see Sultan Amurath IV. taking Bagdad from the Persians by assault, in 1638, remaining still master of Mesopotamia, and at the same time assisting the grand mogul with one army against the Persians, while threatening Venice with another. The Germans never yet showed themselves at the gates of Constantinople, as the Turks have at those of Vienna: and it is only since the reign of Peter the Great, that the Russians became formidable to Turkey. In fine, force and cruelty first established the Ottoman Empire, and the divisions of the Christians have helped to support it. There is nothing in all this but what is natural. We shall see how this empire augmented its power, and persevered

for a long time in its ferocity of manners, which at length began to grow somewhat milder.

CHAPTER LXXX.

LOUIS XI., KING OF FRANCE.

When the authority of Charles VII. began to be established in France by the expulsion of the English, the annexing of a number of provinces to the crown, and the perpetual subsidies granted him, the feudal government was soon extinguished in that kingdom.

From the contrary reason the feudal order was strengthened in Germany, the emperors being elective, and as such destitute of either provinces or supplies. Italy was still divided into independent republics and principalities; absolute power was wholly unknown in Spain, and in the North; and England, in the midst of her divisions, began to lay the foundation of that extraordinary government, which through the most violent and bloody opposition, has in a course of ages produced that happy mixture of liberty and royalty which is the admiration of all nations.

There were at this time in France only the two great fiefs of Burgundy and Brittany: but these, by their great power, were entirely independent; and, notwithstanding the feudal laws, they were never considered by the other powers of Europe as making any part of the kingdom of France: and

Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, expressly stipulated with Charles VII., at the time that he forgave him the murder of his father, Duke John, that he was not to do him homage for his dukedom.

The princes of the blood in France had appanages in peerage, but subject to the jurisdiction of the high court of parliament. The lords, though still possessed of great privileges in their own territories, had not as formerly any power in the state; and there was only the count of Foix on the other side the Loire who had the title of "Prince by the grace of God," with a privilege of coining money; but the lords of fiefs, and the corporations of large cities had immense privileges.

Louis XI., son of Charles VII., became the first absolute king in Europe, after the decline of the Charlemagne family; and he did not arrive at the peaceable enjoyment of this power till after many violent struggles. His life is one great contrast, and it is certainly meant to humble and confound virtue that he has been held up as a great king: he whom all historians paint as a most unnatural son, a barbarous brother, a bad father, and a perfidious neighbor! He embittered the last years of his father's life; nay, he was the cause of his death; for everyone knows that the unhappy Charles VII. died through fear that his son should put him to death: that is to say, he chose to abstain from all food rather than run the risk of swallowing the poison that he apprehended his son intended for him.

Such an apprehension in a parent is alone sufficient to prove that he deemed his son capable of the crime.

After a careful review of the whole conduct of Louis XI., may we not represent him to ourselves as a man who frequently strove to disguise indolence by low artifice, and uphold treachery by cruelty? Otherwise, how came it to pass that in the very beginning of his reign, so many of the great noblemen who had been in his father's interest, and especially the famous Count de Dunois, whose sword had so often kept the crown on his head, combined against him in the "League for the Public Good"? They did not take advantage of the weakness of the royal authority, as had so frequently been done before: but Louis had abused his power. It is plain that the father, made wise by his faults and his misfortunes, governed very well; and that his son, intoxicated with power, began his government very badly.

This league put him in danger of his crown and life. The battle of Montlhéry, in 1465, decided little or nothing in his favor; and he had no other way left to break the league than by granting each of the confederates what he pleased to demand: so that his very dexterity in this affair was a proof of his weakness.

Without the least reason he made himself an irreconcilable enemy in Charles, duke of Burgundy, son of Philip the Good, at that time master of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Flanders, Artois, many

towns on the Somme, and Holland, by stirring up the people of Liège to an act of perfidy against the duke, and afterward to take up arms against him. At the same time he put himself into his hands at Péronne, thinking by that behavior to deceive him the more effectually. Could there be worse policy? He was defeated, in 1468, and saw himself a prisoner in the castle of Péronne, and obliged to march after his vassal against these very people whom he had stirred up to revolt. Could there be a greater humiliation?

He feared his brother, the duke of Berri, and this prince was poisoned by a Benedictine monk, his confessor, whose name was Favre Vesois. This is not one of those doubtful acts taken upon trust by the malice or envy of mankind. The duke of Berri was at supper with the lady of Montforau, his mistress, and this confessor; the latter ordered a fish of an extraordinary size to be served up at table. The lady expired immediately after eating, and the prince died some time after, in the most excruciating convulsions.

Odet Daidie, a brave nobleman, determined to avenge the death of the duke, to whom he had been particularly attached, conveyed the murderer into Brittany, where being out of Louis's power, he was fairly tried; but on the day that he was to receive his sentence he was found dead in his bed. Louis, to quiet the public clamor, ordered the papers relating to the trial to be sent him, and appointed

commissioners to examine into the truth of the accusation. After several deliberations, they resolved upon nothing, and the king loaded them with favors. It was not in the least doubted in Europe that Louis was guilty of this murder, who when dauphin, had put his own father, Charles VII., in fear of his life. History should not accuse him of this crime without proof; but it may lament that he gave reason for the suspicion, and should especially remark, that every prince who is guilty of an avowed crime, deserves all the rash judgments which may be made of his actions.

Such was the conduct of Louis XI. with respect to his vassals and his relatives. Let us now see what it was to his neighbors. Edward IV., king of England, makes a descent in France, hoping to recover some part of his predecessor's conquests. Louis was in a condition to give him battle, but he chose rather to become his tributary. In 1475 he gained over some of the chief officers in the English army, and made presents of wine to all the common soldiers. In fine, he purchased the retreat of this army by his liberalities. Would it not have been more worthy a king of France to have employed this money in putting his kingdom in a posture of defence than in bribing an enemy whom he feared, and whom he should not have feared?

Noble minds boldly choose their favorites from persons of illustrious birth, and their ministers from those of approved capacity; but Louis's confidants

and ministers were born among the dregs of the people, and their sentiments were still meaner than their birth.

Few tyrants ever put a greater number of citizens to death by the hands of the executioner, or under more studied torments than this prince; the chronicles of those times reckon no less than four thousand public and private executions in the course of his reign; and the only monuments he has left behind him are the dungeons, iron cages, and instruments of torture with which he harassed his wretched subjects, and which posterity looks upon with terror.

It is surprising that Father Daniel hardly mentions the punishment inflicted on James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, the known descendant of King Clovis. The circumstances and manner of his death, in 1477, the distribution of his estate, and the confinement of his young children during the lifetime of Louis XI., are melancholy and interesting objects of curiosity.

We do not exactly know the nature of this prince's crime: he was tried by commissioners, which gives room to imagine that he was not really culpable. Some historians idly impute to him the design of seizing the king's person and killing the dauphin. But such an accusation is hardly to be credited; for how could a petty prince, who had taken refuge at the foot of the Pyrenees, think of seizing Louis XI. in a time of profound peace, and when that monarch

was at the zenith of his power, and in full exercise of absolute authority in his kingdom! The notion of killing the dauphin, who was then an infant, and preserving the father, is another of those extravagant projects which could never have entered into the mind of a statesman. All that we can find well attested in relation to this affair is, that Louis had the utmost hatred to the Armagnac family; that he caused the duke of Nemours to be seized at Carlat in 1477; that he confined him in an iron cage in the Bastille; and that, having drawn up the articles of his impeachment with his own hand, he sent judges to try him, among whom was that famous traitor, Philip de Comines, who having long sold the secrets of the house of Burgundy to the king, engaged afterward openly in the French service, and whose memoirs are still in great esteem, though written with all the caution of a courtier who was afraid of declaring the truth, even when Louis was no more.

The king ordered the duke of Nemours to be examined in his iron cage, after which he was put to the torture, and received sentence of death. He was then led to confession in a hall hung with black: confession began at that time to be considered as a favor granted to condemned criminals: and mourning hangings were used only for princes. It was in this manner that Conradin had been formerly executed at Naples, and that Mary Stuart of Scotland was afterward treated in England.

But here Louis XI. put in practice a thing hitherto unknown in any country: he caused the duke's young children to be placed under the scaffold erected for their father's execution, that they might receive his blood upon them, with which they went away all covered; and in this condition were conducted to the Bastille in wooden cages, made in the form of horse-panniers, where the confinement their bodies suffered put them to perpetual torture. In short, the unheard-of tortures these unhappy princes suffered would be incredible, were they not well attested by the petition which they presented to the estates in 1483, after the death of Louis XI.

Never were honor and integrity less regarded than during this reign. The judges were not ashamed to divide among themselves the possession of those whom they condemned.

Amidst the barbarity and ferocity of manners which distinguished the times preceding these, some heroic actions now and then broke forth. The reign of Charles VII. had its Dunois, its La Trimouille, its Clisson, its Richemont, its Saintraille, its La Hire, and many magistrates of approved merit; but during the reign of Louis XI. there appeared not one great man. He had utterly debased the whole nation; virtue was extinct, and servile obedience was the only merit, till at length the people grew easy under their burden, like wretches condemned to the galleys for life.

But with all this cruelty and craft Louis had two

predominant passions, which one would imagine should have humanized his manners; these were love and devotion. He had mistresses, he had bastards, and he performed pilgrimages; but his love was consistent with the rest of his character; and his devotion was only the superstitious fear of a timorous and bewildered mind. He always went covered with relics, and constantly wore a leaden figure of the Virgin Mary in his hat, of which it is said he used to ask pardon for his murders before he committed them. He made a deed of the earldom of Bologne to the Holy Virgin. True piety does not consist in making the Virgin Mary a countess, but in refraining from those actions which our consciences condemn, and which God seldom fails to punish.

He introduced the Italian custom of ringing a bell at noon, when everyone was to say an *Ave Maria.* He asked permission of the pope to wear the surplice and the *amusse,* and to be a second time anointed with the holy oil of Rheims.

At length, being sensible of the approach of death, he shut himself up in the castle of Plessis-les-Tours, in 1403, and, inaccessible to everyone, surrounded by guards, and a prey to the most bitter reflections, he sent for a hermit of Calabria, called Francisco Martorillo, since adored as a saint under the name of St. Francisco de Paulo, and throwing himself at his feet, entreated him with a flood of tears, to intercede with God that his life might be

prolonged; as if the voice of a Calabrian friar in a village of France could arrest the ordinance of God, or preserve a weak and perverse soul in a wornout body, contrary to the rules of nature. While he was thus begging for life of a foreign hermit, he thought to recruit the weak remains that were left by drinking the blood of young children, fondly imagining to correct thereby the acrimony of his own.

Certainly no one could experience a more melancholy situation than to be in the midst of power and prosperity, the continual victim of uneasiness, remorse, fear, and the shame of being universally detested.

And yet he was the first of the kings of France who took and used the title of Most Christian King; at about the same time as Ferdinand of Aragon, as famous for his perfidies as his conquests, took that of Catholic.

Notwithstanding his many vices, Louis had some good qualities. He was valiant and liberal: he was well acquainted with men and things: he would have justice executed; and no one but himself dared to be unjust.

When Paris had been laid waste by a plague, it was repeopled through his care; on this occasion indeed he received a number of robbers and freebooters, but the severity of his administration soon made them good citizens. In his time this city contained eighty thousand burghers able to bear arms.

To him the people were first indebted for the lowering of the power of the grandees. This made about fifty thousand families murmur against him; but it procured, or should have procured him, the blessings of above five hundred thousand.

He it was who established the posts, though not on the same footing as they now are in Europe. He only revived the *veredarii* of Charlemagne, and the ancient Roman Empire. He kept two hundred and thirty couriers, at his own expense, to carry his orders incessantly through the kingdom. Private persons had the use of the horses belonging to these couriers, on paying ten sols per horse for every journey of thirty leagues. Letters were delivered from town to town by the king's couriers. This branch of police was for a long time unknown in France. He also endeavored to establish one standard for weights and measures throughout the kingdom, as had been done in the time of Charlemagne. In a word, he proved that a bad man may be a public benefactor when his private interest is not against it.

The taxes in the reign of Charles VII., independent of the royal demesnes, amounted to seventeen hundred thousand livres of that currency. In the reign of Louis XI. they were four and a half millions of livres, which, at ten livres to the mark, will make twenty-three and a half millions of our present currency. Now, if we examine the price of commodities according to this proportion, especially

corn, which is the principal one, we shall find that they were not worth above one-half of what they are at present: so that with twenty-three and a half millions, the government then answered all the purposes for which it is at present obliged to expend forty-six.

Such was the condition of the French power before Burgundy, the Franche-Comté, Artois, the territory of Boulogne, the cities on the Somme, Provence, and Anjou, were annexed to the monarchy of Louis XI. This kingdom soon afterward became the most powerful in Europe, and might be compared to a river swelled by a thousand lesser streams, and cleared from the mud and weeds which had so long interrupted its course.

Titles at this time first began to be given to power. Louis XI. was the first king of France who had the title of Majesty given him, which before was only given to the emperor, and which the German chancery has never granted to any king even to this day. The kings of Aragon, Castile, and Portugal had the title of Highness. The king of England was styled Your Grace: and Louis XI. might have been called Your Despotship.

We have now seen by what a series of fortunate crimes he came to be the first absolute king in Europe since the establishment of the great feudal government. Ferdinand the Catholic could never attain this power in Aragon. Isabella had the address to work the minds of her Castilians to pas-

sive obedience, but she never reigned absolute. Every state, every province, every city throughout Europe had its particular privileges; the feudal lords often opposed these privileges, and the kings frequently attempted to subject both the feudal lords and the cities to their obedience; but neither of them accomplished it till Louis XI., and he only, by spilling the blood of Armagnac and Luxembourg on the scaffold, sacrificing everything to his vengeance, and paying dearly for the execution of his vile purposes. Isabella of Castile managed with more cunning and less cruelty; for instance, how did she act when wanting to unite the duchy of Placentia to her own crown? By means of insinuations and money she excited the vassals of the duke of Placentia to revolt against him. They accordingly assemble, and demand to be admitted as vassals of Queen Isabella, and she, out of complaisance, complies with their request.

Louis XI., at the same time that he increased his power over his subjects by his rigorous administration, enlarged his kingdom by his industry and application to public business. He procured the county of Provence in legacy from its last sovereign count, and thus deprived the empire of a feudatory, as Philip of Valois had done with regard to Dauphiny. He annexed Anjou and Maine, which belonged to this count, to the crown of France; and thus, by skill, money, and good fortune, did the kingdom of France, which from the reign of Hugh

Capet had been of little or no consideration, and which had been almost finally destroyed by the English, become a considerable state. The same good fortune procured it the addition of Burgundy; and the faults of the last duke restored to the state this province which the imprudence of its kings had separated from it.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

BURGUNDY AND THE SWISS NATION, IN THE TIME OF LOUIS XI., IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

CHARLES THE RASH, who was descended in a right line from John, king of France, held the duchy of Burgundy as an appanage of his house, together with the cities upon the Somme, which had been ceded to his family by Charles VII. He was also possessed by right of succession of the Franche-Comté, Artois, Flanders, and almost all Holland. His cities in the Low Countries were in a flourishing condition, by means of their extensive commerce, which almost equalled that of Venice; Antwerp was the staple of the northern nations, the town of Ghent employed fifty thousand workmen in their woollen manufactory, Bruges had as great a trade as Antwerp, and Arras was then famous for those fine hangings which still go by its name in Germany, England, and Italy.

It was then customary for princes to sell their dominions when they were in want of money, as a

private person now sells his house, or his estate. This custom took place after the Crusades; Ferdinand, king of Aragon, sold Roussillon to Louis XI., with right of redemption; Charles, duke of Burgundy, had lately purchased the province of Guelders, and a duke of Austria had sold him all the demesnes he possessed in Alsace, and the neighborhood of Switzerland. This acquisition was worth much more than Charles gave for it, who now saw himself in possession of a state which reached from the banks of the Somme to the gates of Strasburg; he had nothing to do therefore but to enjoy his good fortune. Few kings in Europe were so powerful as himself, and not one more rich or magnificent; but he wished to erect his state into a kingdom which might one day have proved very prejudicial to France. To effect this, nothing more was necessary than to purchase a diploma of the Emperor Frederick III., the custom being still preserved of asking the title of king of the emperors, as a kind of homage paid to the ancient Roman Empire. Charles, however, failed in this negotiation; but as he designed to add Lorraine and Switzerland to his dominions, he was sure that if he succeeded he might make himself king without the permission of anyone.

He took no pains to disguise his ambition, and this procured him the surname of the Rash. We may form an idea of his haughtiness by his manner of receiving the deputies from Switzerland, in 1474.

The writers of that country affirm that he obliged them to address him upon their knees. This is a strange contradiction in the manners of a free nation which soon after became his conquerors.

The foundation of the duke of Burgundy's pretensions to this homage to which the Helvetic body submitted, was as follows: Several Swiss villages were situated in the midst of the demesnes which he had purchased of the duke of Austria, and he thought when he made this purchase, that he bought these people likewise as slaves: the deputies of the commons always addressed the king of France upon the knee, and the duke of Burgundy had always kept up the etiquette of the chiefs of his house. We have elsewhere observed that several kings, after the example of the emperor, had insisted on the ceremony of the bended knee when spoken to, or presented with anything; and that this custom, which came originally from Asia, had been introduced by Constantine, and before him by Diocletian. Hence came the custom, that a vassal should do homage to his lord by kneeling with both knees upon the ground, and likewise the custom of kissing the pope's feet. This is the history of human vanity.

Philip of Comines, and the crowd of historians that followed him, pretend that the war against the Swiss, which proved so fatal to the duke of Burgundy, was occasioned by a cartload of sheepskins. The slightest occasion will kindle a war when matters are ripe for it: but Louis XI. had for a long

time been endeavoring to animate the Swiss against the duke of Burgundy, and many acts of hostility had passed between both parties, before the adventure of the sheepskins. The truth is, that Charles's ambition was the only occasion of the war.

There were at that time only eight Swiss cantons: Freiburg, Soleure, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell, not having then entered into the alliance; nor did Basel, an imperial town, whose situation on the Rhine made it a rich and flourishing port, make a part of this infant republic, known then only for its poverty, simplicity, and courage. The deputies of Berne presented a remonstrance to this ambitious prince, setting forth that their whole country was not worth the spurs worn by his knights. These deputies did not address Charles upon the knee; they spoke with humility, and defended themselves bravely.

The duke's gendarmerie, whose armor was all covered with gold, were twice beaten, in 1476, and suffered the most shameful defeat from these humble villagers, who were astonished at the richness of the spoils they found in the enemy's camp.

Could it have been foreseen, that, when the largest diamond in Europe, taken by a Swiss soldier in the battle of Granson, was sold by him to his general for a crown; could it have been foreseen, I say, at that time, that one day there should be as beautiful and opulent cities in Switzerland as the capital of the duchy of Burgundy then was? The luxury of jewels and rich stuffs was for a long time

unknown to those people, and when it came to be known, it was prohibited; but the solid riches, which consist in agriculture, were always left free, to be gathered by the free and victorious hands of the inhabitants. The conveniences of life have been more sought after by them of late; and the pleasures of society and sound philosophy, without which society can afford no lasting pleasure, have found their way into those parts of Switzerland where the climate is more mild, and where plenty now reigns. In fine, in some parts of this country, formerly so wild and uncouth, they have at length found the way to join the politeness of Athens with the Spartan simplicity.

In the meantime Charles the Rash determined to avenge himself upon Lorraine, and wrest the city of Nancy — which he had taken once before — from its lawful possessor, Duke René; but these very Swiss, who had formerly conquered him, being now — 1477 — joined by the people of Freiburg and Soleure, who in that rendered themselves worthy of the alliance, again defied the usurper of their country, who purchased with his blood the title of Rash, bestowed upon him by posterity.

Then it was that Louis XI. made himself master of Artois and the cities in the Somme, and of the duchy of Burgundy as a male fief, and of the city of Besançon, as lying very convenient for him.

Princess Mary, daughter of Charles the Rash, and sole heiress of so many provinces, saw herself by

this means stripped in an instant of two-thirds of her inheritance.. Louis might also have added to the kingdom of France the Seventeen Provinces, which almost all belonged to this princess, by marrying her to his son; but he vainly flattered himself with having her for daughter-in-law whom he had stripped of her dominions; and thus this great politician missed an opportunity of annexing Franche-Comté and all the Low Countries to his kingdom.

The people of Ghent and of the rest of the towns in Flanders, who enjoyed more freedom at that time under their sovereigns, than even the English do under their kings, destined Maximilian, son of the emperor Frederick III., for a consort to their princess.

At present subjects learn the marriages of their princes, the making of war and peace, the laying on of taxes, and in short the whole of their destiny, from the declarations issued by their masters, but it was not so in Flanders: the people of Ghent determined that their princess should marry a German: and they cut off the heads of Princess Mary's chancellor, and of her chamberlain, Imbercourt, for having entered into a treaty of marriage for her with the dauphin of France; and these two ministers were executed in 1478, in the very presence of the young princess, who pleaded in vain for their pardon with these rough people.

Maximilian, who was invited rather by the people than the princess, repaired to Ghent to conclude his

nuptials, like a private gentleman going to make his fortune by marrying a rich heiress; his wife defrayed the expense of his journey, his equipage, and his household. But, though he espoused Mary, he did not get possession of her dominions, and was only the husband of a sovereign princess; and even when at the death of his wife he became guardian of their son; when he had the government of the Low Countries, and even after he came to be king of the Romans, and emperor, the inhabitants of Bruges imprisoned him in 1488 for four months, for having violated their privileges. Thus, if princes have frequently abused their powers, the people on the other hand have as much abused their privileges.

This marriage of the heiress of Burgundy with Maximilian proved the source of all those wars which have for such a number of years set the house of France at variance with that of Austria. This it was which gave rise to the greatness of Charles V., and brought Europe to the brink of slavery: all through the obstinacy of the citizens of Ghent, in marrying their princess.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

CHIVALRY.

The extinction of the house of Burgundy, the administration of Louis XI., and, above all, the new method of making war lately introduced throughout Europe, had little by little contributed to the aboli-

tion of that kind of military dignity or brotherhood, known by the name of chivalry, of which only the shadow is now left.

This chivalry was a military institution which had arisen of itself among the great lords, in the same manner as religious societies or brotherhoods had been established among the citizens. This institution owed its birth to the anarchy and rapine which desolated all Europe upon the decline of the Charlemagne family. The nobles of all degrees, dukes, counts, viscounts, vidames, castellans, were now sovereign princes in their own territories, and continually making war upon one another; and, instead of the great armies of Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne, almost all Europe was divided into small troops of seven or eight hundred men, and sometimes much less. Two or three towns made a petty state, which was incessantly fighting with its neighboring states. The communication between the provinces was cut off, the high roads were neglected, or so infested with robbers that the merchant could no longer travel in safety, or bring his commodities to market, without which there was no subsisting. Every possessor of a castle stopped them upon the road and laid them under contribution, and many of the larger castles upon the borders of the rivers were real dens of thieves, who not only plundered the merchants, but frequently carried off all the women that came in their way.

Several of the lords by degrees entered into asso-

ciations for the defence of the public safety, and the protection of the ladies, to which they bound themselves by oath; and this virtuous institution, by being made a religious act, became an indispensable duty; several associations of this kind were formed in most of the provinces, and every lord of a large fief held it an honor to be a knight and to be admitted to this order.

Toward the eleventh century there were several religious and profane ceremonies appointed for the observance of each candidate, which seemed to throw a new character upon the order. The person who stood for admittance was to fast, to confess himself, to receive the sacrament, and to pass one whole night under arms: after this he was to sit at a table by himself, while his godfather and the ladies that were to arm the new knight dined at another. The candidate, clad in a white robe, was at his little table by himself, where it was forbidden him to speak, laugh, or even to touch food. The next day he was to make his entrance into the church, with his sword hanging about his neck, and received the priest's benediction; he was then to go and kneel down before the lord or lady who was to invest him with his armor of knighthood. Those of the assistants who were qualified put on his spurs, clad him with his cuirass, his cap, his cuishes, his gauntlets, and the coat of mail called the hauberk. The godfather who installed him gave him three strokes with the flat of his sword on the neck, in the name

of God, St. Michael, and St. George. And, from this instant, every time he heard mass he drew his sword at the reading of the Gospel and held it upright.

The installation was followed by a magnificent entertainment, and frequently by a tournament; but these were always at the people's expense. The great feudal lords imposed a tax upon their vassals, on the day that any of their children were made knights. Young people were generally admitted to this honor at the age of twenty-one: before that they were termed bachelors, which is as much as to say lesser knights, varlets, or squires; and the lords who were incorporated in these military societies frequently gave their children to each other, to be brought up at a distance from the parental roof, under the name of varlets, or apprentices in chivalry.

These knights were in greatest vogue in the time of the Crusades. The lords of fiefs, who brought vassals into the field under their banner, were called knights-banneret; not that the title of knight alone gave them the privilege of appearing in the field with banners. It was their power, and not the ceremony of installation, which enabled them to raise troops and keep them on foot. They were bannerets in virtue of their fiefs, and not of their knighthood; this title being only a distinction introduced by custom; a kind of conventional honor, and not any real dignity in the state, nor of the least weight in the form of government. The knights had no share

in the elections of emperors or kings; nor was it necessary to have been dubbed a knight to be admitted to a seat in the diets of the empire, the parliaments of France, or the cortes of Spain. In a word, none of the essentials of government, such as enfeoffments, rights of dependency and jurisdiction, inheritance, or laws, had any connection with chivalry. The chief privileges of this institution consisted in bloody exhibitions and tournaments. A bachelor or esquire was not in general allowed to enter the lists against a knight.

Kings themselves frequently entered into this order, but this made no addition to their honor or power; they did it only to encourage chivalry and valor by their example. The knights were always treated with great respect by the community, and that was all.

But after King Edward III. instituted the Order of the Garter; Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, that of the Golden Fleece; and Louis XI. the Order of St. Michael, which at its first institution was as noble as either of the other two, though now so ridiculously disgraced; then the ancient chivalry began to decline. It had no longer any distinguishing mark, nor a chief to confer the particular honors and privileges of the order. And there were no longer any knights banneret after the kings and great princes had erected military companies; so that chivalry became then only a name. The honor of knighthood was generally conferred by a great

prince, on some renowned warrior. Those lords who were of any established rank of dignity took, with the rest of their titles, that of knight; and all those who made profession of arms called themselves esquires.

The military orders of knighthood, as those of the Templars, of Malta, the Teutonic Order, and several others, are only imitations of the ancient chivalry, and have added religious ceremonies to the military function. But this kind of chivalry is quite different from the ancient institution, and was only productive of certain orders of military monks, founded by the popes, endowed with benefices, and confined to three orders of monks. Of these extraordinary orders, some have been great conquerors, others have been suppressed on account of their debaucheries, and others still continue to subsist in high reputation.

The Teutonic was a sovereign order, as that of Malta still is, and will long continue to be.

Almost every province in Europe has endeavored to establish an order of knighthood. The simple title of knight, bestowed by the kings of England upon some of the principal citizens without their being incorporated into any particular order, is derived from the ancient chivalry, but differs widely from its original. The ancient chivalry has been preserved nowhere but in France, in the ceremony of creating knights all the ambassadors sent to that court from the republic of Venice; and in this

installation the dubbing, or striking with the sword, is the only part of the original institution which is preserved.

Here we have exhibited to us a varied picture, and, if we attentively trace the chain of all the customs in Europe since the time of Charlemagne, in state, church, war, honors, finances, and society, nay, even in dress itself, we shall meet with nothing but one perpetual change.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

THE FEUDAL GOVERNMENT IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, AFTER THE DEATH OF LOUIS XI.

You have already seen how in Italy, France, and Germany anarchy was turned into despotism, under the reign of Charlemagne, and despotism again overturned by anarchy under his descendants.

You are sensible how wrong it is to think that there were no hereditary fiefs before the time of Hugh Capet. Normandy is a strong instance of the contrary. Bavaria and Aquitaine were hereditary fiefs before Charlemagne's time, as were almost all the Italian fiefs under the Lombard kings. In the reign of Charles the Fat and the Simple, the great officers of state and some bishops arrogated to themselves the rights of regality. But there were always possessors of large territories under the title of Sires in France, Herren in Germany, and Ricos Hombres in Spain. There are always, likewise,

some great cities governed by their own magistrates, as Rome, Milan, Lyons, Rheims, etc. Now the bounds of the liberties of these cities, and those of the power of particular lords, have been always changing; and force and fortune have determined everything. If some of the great officers became usurpers, the father of Charlemagne had been the same. Pepin, the grandson of Arnold, bishop of Metz, and preceptor to Dagobert, dethroned the family of Clovis; Hugh Capet dispossessed Pepin's family; and the descendants of this Hugh Capet were never able to reassemble the scattered members of the French monarchy.

The feudal power in France received a mortal blow from Louis XI., and was vigorously opposed in Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella. In England it had been obliged to give way to the mixed form of government. It still subsisted in Poland, though under another form. But in Germany it remained in full vigor, and was even increasing every day. The count of Boulainvilliers calls this constitution "The effort of human genius." Loiseau and other great civilians term it "An extravagant institution; a monster composed of members without a head."

We cannot think it a very powerful effort of genius, but rather the mere natural and common effect of human reason and ambition, for those who were in possession of lands to be desirous of being masters in their own territories. The great landholders, from the midst of Muscovy to the mountains

of Castile, have all thought in the same manner, though they may not perhaps have communicated their ideas to each other, and were all equally desirous that their lives and estates should not depend upon the absolute power of a king. They have associated together in every country to oppose this power, and at the same time have exercised it as much as they were able upon their own vassals and subjects.

This kind of government prevailed in Europe for more than five hundred years; it was indeed unknown among the Greeks and Romans. But certainly that cannot properly be called an extravagant institution which has been so universally received in Europe. It is doubtless an unjust one, because the greater number are crushed by the fewer, and the private citizen can never hope to rise but by a general subversion of the state. No flourishing cities, no extensive commerce, nor any encouragement for the polite arts can be found under a government purely feudal; and the powerful cities in Germany and Flanders flourished only in consequence of a short interval of liberty. The cities of Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp, for example, are to be considered rather as republics under the protection of the dukes of Burgundy, than towns subject to the arbitrary authority of those dukes. The same may be said of the imperial cities.

You have seen a feudal anarchy establish itself through a great part of Europe under the successors

of Charlemagne: but before his time, and under the Lombard kings, the feudal form of government was more regular. The Franks, when they invaded Gaul, divided among themselves the territories of Clovis: therefore the count of Boulainvilliers will have it that the lords of castles were all sovereign princes in France. But what person not possessed of territories can say, "I am a descendant of one of the conquerors of Gaul?" Or, though he should be descended in a right line from any one of those usurpers, would not the cities and the commons have a better right to recover their liberty than this Frank ever could have had to deprive them of it?

It cannot be said that the feudal power in Germany was established by right of conquest, as it was in Lombardy and France. Germany was never entirely conquered by foreigners; and yet it is, at this time, the only country in the world where the feudal law truly subsists. The Boyards of Russia have their subjects, but they are subjects themselves, and do not form a body politic like the German princes. The Tartar khans and the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia are real feudal lords, holding of the Grand Seignior. But then they are liable to be deposed by an order of divan; whereas the German lords cannot be dispossessed but by the general decree of the whole nation. The Polish nobility are more upon an equality with one another than the land-holders in Germany; therefore this is not a real feudal government. There are no rear-

vassals in Poland. A nobleman there is not the subject of another nobleman, as in Germany. Poland is an aristocratic republic, where the common people are all slaves.

The feudal law is on a different footing in Italy. Every territory is deemed a fief of the empire in Lombardy, which occasions great uncertainty; for the emperors are supreme lords of those fiefs, only in quality of kings of Italy, and successors to the kings of Lombardy. Now certainly a Diet of Ratisbon is not king of Italy. But what has happened from this? The Germanic liberty having prevailed over the imperial authority in Germany, and the empire having become a distinct thing from the emperor, the Italian fiefs call themselves vassals of the empire, and not of the emperor. Thus one feudal administration has become another feudal administration. The fief of Naples, again, is of a nature entirely different from either of these. It is a homage paid by the stronger to the weaker; a kind of ceremony kept up by custom.

Everything has been a fief in Europe, and the laws of fiefs have been everywhere different. When the male branch of Burgundy became extinct, Louis XI. thought he had a right to succeed to that dukedom. But if the house of Saxony or Bavaria was to fail, the emperor would have no right to take possession of those provinces: nor would the pope have any claim to the kingdom of Naples, in case the reigning family was to become extinct. These

rights are all derived from force, custom, or agreement. Force gave Burgundy to Louis XI., for there was still a prince of that house living, the count of Nevers, who was a descendant of the lawful possessors, but dared not assert his right. It was no less scandalous that Mary of Burgundy was excluded from the succession, for in the grant made of the dominion of Burgundy to her ancestors by King John of France, it is expressly said that the heirs shall succeed to the honors; now a daughter is an heiress.

The question concerning male and female fiefs, the right of liege homage or simple homage; the confusion among those lords who held different lands in vassalage of two lords paramount at a time, and among the vassals of lords paramount who contested the supreme demesne, and a thousand difficulties of like nature, gave rise to numberless processes which could be decided only by the force of arms. The fortunes and possessions of private citizens were still in a more unhappy situation.

What must be the situation of that vassal whose lord is himself subject to another, who holds of a third! He must be involved in suits in almost every court, and lose all he is worth before he can obtain a final decree. It is certain that the people never voluntarily made choice of this form of government; nor is that country worthy to be inhabited, where all degrees and conditions are not equally subjected to the laws.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

CHARLES VIII. AND EUROPE, WHEN THAT PRINCE UNDERTOOK THE CONQUEST OF NAPLES.

Louis XI. left his son, Charles VIII., a child of fourteen years of age, weak in body and unimproved in mind, master of the finest and most powerful kingdom in Europe. But he left him at the same time a civil war, which is almost the inseparable attendant of a minority. The young king was indeed no longer a minor by Charles V.'s law, but he was still so by nature. His eldest sister, Anne, wife of Beaujeu, duke of Bourbon, was left regent by her father's will, and is said to have been very worthy of this high post. Louis, duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and afterward that Louis XII. whose memory is still so dear, began by being the scourge of the kingdom to which he afterward proved the tenderest parent. In the first place, his rank of first prince of the blood had been so far from procuring him any share in the government that it had not even given him the right of precedence over those peers who were of more ancient creation. On the other hand, it seemed extraordinary that a woman who was by law declared incapable of ascending the throne should nevertheless reign under another name. These considerations excited Louis of Orleans, who was of an ambitious temper — as the most virtuous frequently are — to

raise a civil war against the king, his master, in order to be made his guardian.

The parliament of Paris then found, for the first time, of how much consideration it might be during a minority. The duke of Orleans applied in person to the courts for an order to alter the administration. La Vaquerie, the first president, who was an able lawyer, made him answer that the parliament had nothing to do either with the finances or the government of the state, which belonged to the states-general, whom the parliament did not represent.

This reply proves that the city of Paris at that time was in full tranquillity, and that the parliament was in the interest of Madame de Beaujeu. A civil war now — in 1488 — broke out in the provinces, and especially in that of Brittany, where the old duke, Francis II., espoused the cause of the duke of Orleans. A battle was fought near St. Aubin in Brittany; and here it must be observed that, in the army of the Bretons and the duke of Orleans, there were between four and five hundred English, notwithstanding the troubles which then distracted that country, and drained it of its soldiers. The English have seldom stood neutral when France was to be attacked. The rebel army was defeated by that great general, Louis de la Trimouille, and the duke of Orleans, who afterward came to be sovereign, was taken prisoner. Louis may be reckoned the third king of the Capet family who had been taken

prisoner in battle, and he was not the last. The duke of Orleans continued prisoner nearly three years in the tower of Bourges, till Charles VIII. went in person — in 1491 — to deliver him. The manners of the French were much milder than those of the English, who, harassed with continual civil wars at that time, made it their common practice to put to death by the hands of the executioner those whom they conquered in battle.

The peace and greatness of France were at length happily established by the marriage of Charles VIII., who obliged the old duke of Brittany to give him his daughter to wife, with all his dominions in dowry. Princess Anne of Brittany, one of the most beautiful women of her age, had a passion for the duke of Orleans, who was still in the flower of his youth, and master of many amiable accomplishments; and who, by this civil war, found himself deprived at once of his liberty and his mistress.

Upon the marriage of princes in Europe, depends the fate of their people. Charles VIII., who, during the lifetime of his father, might have espoused the princess Mary, heiress of Burgundy, might now have had to wife the daughter of this Mary, and of Maximilian, king of the Romans; and Maximilian, on his side, who had lost his queen, Mary of Burgundy, had, not without reason, entertained hopes of obtaining Anne of Brittany for his second consort. He had even gone so far as to espouse her by proxy; and the count of Nassau had, according

to the custom of those times, put one leg into the princess' bed, in the name of the king of the Romans. But this did not hinder the king of France from concluding his marriage; and he obtained the princess, together with Brittany for her portion, which has since been reduced to a province of France.

France was then in its zenith of glory, and nothing but the many errors it was afterward guilty of could have prevented it from being the arbiter of Europe.

We may remember that the last count of Provence bequeathed his dominions to Louis XI. This count, in whom the house of Anjou became extinct, took the title of king of the two Sicilies, which his family had lost the possession of for a long time. This title he also left to Louis XI., by the donation of the county of Provence. Charles VIII., determining not to wear an empty title, made all preparations for the conquest of Naples, and the dominion of all Italy.

Here we must stop and take a view of the state of Europe toward the end of the fifteenth century, when these events took place.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

EUROPE AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

At this time — 1493 — the emperor Frederick III., of the house of Austria, died, leaving the empire to his son, Maximilian, who was in his father's life-

time elected king of the Romans. But these kings of the Romans had no power in Italy, and that which was left them in Germany was little more than that of a doge of Venice; besides this, the house of Austria was far from being formidable in itself. They may in vain show the tomb of this emperor at Vienna, with this epitaph: "Here lies Frederick III., the pious and august emperor, sovereign of Christendom, king of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, archduke of Austria," etc., but this only serves to show the vanity of such inscriptions. Frederick never enjoyed anything appertaining to Hungary but the crown, ornamented with a few jewels, which he always kept locked in his closet, and would never restore to his pupil, Ladislaus, who was the true king of Hungary, nor to those whom the Hungarians afterward chose for their sovereigns, and who defended them against the Turks. He was possessed of barely half the province of Austria: his cousins had the rest; and as to the title of sovereign of Christendom, it is easy to see how well he deserved that. His son, Maximilian, had, besides the demesnes left him by his father, the regency of the dominions of Mary of Burgundy, his wife; but he governed only in the name of his son, Philip the Handsome. As to the rest, we know that he was called "*Massimiliano pochi danari;*" a surname which does not show him to have been a prince of any great power.

England, which was still little better than a nation of savages, after having been long rent to pieces

by the civil wars of the white and red roses, in the manner which we shall soon relate, had but just begun to breathe under Henry VII., who, after the example of Louis XI., humbled the barons, and favored the people.

SPAIN — THE UNFORTUNATE REIGN OF HENRY IV., SURNAMED THE IMPOTENT — ISABELLA AND FERDINAND — THE TAKING OF GRANADA, AND THE PERSECUTION OF JEWS AND MOORS.

THE Christian princes of Spain had always been at variance with one another. The race of Henry de Transtamare, the bastard usurper — since we must call things by their proper names — still continued to reign in Castile, and a usurpation of a more singular kind laid the foundation of the Spanish grandeur.

Henry IV., one of the descendants of Transtamare, who began his unhappy reign in 1454, was totally enervated by his pleasures. Never can a court be entirely given up to debaucheries, but revolutions, or at least seditions, must be the consequences. Donna Juana, his queen, whom we shall call by this name to distinguish her from his daughter, Princess Joan, and several other princesses of the same name, was a daughter of Portugal: she took not the least pains to conceal her gallantries, and few women ever carried on their amours with less regard to decency. Henry IV. passed his time with his wife's lovers, and these diverted themselves with the king's mistresses. In short, everything con-

spired to set the Spaniards an example of the greatest effeminacy and most consummate debauchery. The administration being so weak, the malcontents, who make the majority at all times, and in all countries, became very numerous in Castile. This kingdom was then governed as France, England, Germany, and all the other monarchial states in Europe had for a long time been. The vassals shared in the sovereign authority; and if the bishops were not like those in Germany, sovereign princes, they were lords and great vassals, the same as in France.

An archbishop of Toledo, named Carillo, with several other bishops, headed the party against the king, and renewed in Spain the same disorders which had afflicted France in the reign of Louis the Feeble, Germany, under a number of its emperors, and which we shall soon see appear again in France under Henry III., and desolate England in the reign of Charles I.

1465 — The rebels, now grown powerful, deposed their king in effigy, a ceremony which had never before entered into the heads of any faction.

They erected a great stage on the plain of Avila, upon which was placed a sorry wooden figure, representing Henry IV., dressed in his robes and other ensigns of royalty. To this figure they read the sentence of deposition, after which the archbishop of Toledo took off the crown, another person the sword, and a third took away the sceptre; they then,

from the same stage, proclaimed a young brother of Henry's, named Alphonso, king in his stead. This farce was followed by all the horrors of civil war, which did not cease even after the death of the young prince, on whom the conspirators had bestowed the kingdom. The archbishop and his party declared the king impotent, at the very time that he was surrounded by mistresses; and, by a proceeding unheard of in any state, pronounced his daughter Joan a bastard, and born in adultery.

Several of the grandees on this occasion laid claim to the crown, but the rebels agreed to acknowledge the king's sister, Isabella, a princess of seventeen years of age, rather than submit to one of their equals; and chose rather to lay the kingdom waste in the name of a young queen, who had as yet no interest, than to raise up any person to be their master.

The archbishop who had made war against his king in the name of the infant, now continued to carry it on in the name of the infanta; and Henry could not extricate himself from all these troubles, nor remain quiet upon his throne, until he had signed, in 1468, one of the most shameful treaties that had ever been extorted from a sovereign; by which he acknowledged his sister Isabella as the only lawful heiress to his kindom, in prejudice to the undoubted rights of his own daughter, Joan; and at this price he purchased of his rebellious subjects the empty title of king.

But, in order to complete their work, it was necessary to provide the young princess Isabella a husband able to defend her claim. For this purpose they cast their eyes on Ferdinand, heir to the crown of Aragon, a prince nearly the same age as Isabella. The archbishop married them privately; and this marriage, concluded under such fatal auspices, proved nevertheless the foundation of the Spanish greatness. At first, it revived all the former divisions, civil wars, fraudulent treaties, and those outward reconciliations which serve only to augment a mutual hatred. Henry, after having once more settled matters on a quiet footing, was attacked with a violent disorder at an entertainment given by one of these reconciled enemies, and died soon after, in 1474.

He vainly bequeathed his kingdom to his daughter Joan, and swore in vain that she was his lawful daughter; neither his death-bed oaths, nor the asseverations of his queen, availed aught against the party of Isabella and Ferdinand—afterward surnamed the Catholic king of Aragon and Sicily. They did not live together like man and wife, in the common possession of their estates, under the husband's direction, but like two monarchs in close alliance. They neither loved nor hated each other, were seldom in company together, had each a separate council, and were frequently jealous of each other in the administration: the queen found a still greater subject of jealousy in the infidelity of her husband, who filled

all the great posts in the state with his bastards: but they were inseparably united in their common interests, always acting upon the same principles, always having the words "religion" and "piety" in their mouths, and wholly taken up with their ambitious views. In short, the rightful heiress, Joan, was unable to withstand their united forces; at length her uncle, Don Alphonso, king of Portugal, who was desirous of espousing her, took up arms in her favor. But the conclusion of all these efforts and troubles was that this unfortunate princess ended in a convent that life which was destined for a throne.

Never was injustice better colored, more successful, or justified by a more daring and prudent conduct. Isabella and Ferdinand established such a power in Spain as had never been known since the restoration of the Christians. The Moors were now in possession only of Granada, and drew near their ruin in that part of Europe, while the Turks seemed on the point of subduing the other. The Christians had lost Spain in the beginning of the eighth century by their mutual discords and divisions; the same cause drove the Moors at length out of Spain.

Boabdil, nephew of Abdallah, king of Granada, engaged in rebellion against him. Ferdinand the Catholic took every opportunity of fomenting this civil war, and of supporting the nephew against the uncle; by this means to weaken both the one and the other. Soon after the death of Abdallah, he fell

upon his ally, Boabdil, with the united forces of Aragon and Castile. It cost him six years to conquer this Mahometan kingdom. At length he came and laid siege to the city of Granada, which held out against him for eight months. Queen Isabella came thither in person to share in her husband's triumph. Boabdil surrendered on conditions which showed that he was yet able to defend his capital: for it was stipulated that nothing should be attempted against the estates, lands, liberties, or religion of the Moors; that the prisoners taken from them should be restored without ransom; and that the Jews, who were comprehended in the same treaty, should enjoy the same privileges.

1491 — Boabdil then came out of the city, and went to present the keys to Ferdinand and Isabella, who treated him like a king, for the last time.

Contemporary writers who have related this event, tell us that the Moorish king shed tears when he looked back at the walls of that city, which had been built by the Mahometans nearly five hundred years before, was full of inhabitants and riches, adorned with that stupendous palace of the Moorish kings, in which were the finest baths in Europe, and a number of magnificent and spacious apartments, supported by a hundred pillars of alabaster. Perhaps the very luxury, the loss of which he so much regretted, had been the instrument of his ruin. He retired to Africa, and there ended his days.

In Europe Ferdinand was considered as the

avenger of the Christian religion, and the restorer of his country. From that time he was called king of Spain: and in fact, being master of Castile by right of marriage, of Granada by conquest, and of Aragon by birth, he wanted only Navarre, which he got possession of in the end. He had several warm disputes with France about Cerdagne and Roussillon, which had been pledged to Louis XI. It may be judged whether, as king of Sicily, he could without jealousy behold Charles VIII. preparing to pass into Italy, in order to dispossess one of the house of Aragon, then settled on the throne of Naples.

We shall soon see in what manner the consequences of so natural a jealousy broke forth; but, previous to entering into the quarrels of princes, you always desire to observe the fate of the people. You see that Ferdinand and Isabella did not find the kingdom of Spain in the condition in which it was later under Charles V. and Philip II. The mixture of ancient Visigoths, Vandals, Africans, Jews, and aborigines had for a long time laid waste the land of which they disputed the possession, and it did not grow fruitful till it came into the hands of the Mahometans. The Moors, after they were conquered, became farmers to their conquerors, and the Christians of Spain were wholly maintained by the labors of their ancient enemies. They had no manufactures of their own, and as little trade; they were hardly acquainted with the common necessaries of life: they had little or no furniture in their

houses, no inns on their roads, no conveniences for lodging strangers in their towns; and the use of fine linen was for a long time unknown to them, and even that of the coarse kind was very scarce. All their trade, both foreign and domestic, was carried on by the Jews, who had become absolutely necessary in a nation which knew only the use of arms.

1492 — When, toward the end of the fifteenth century, they began in Spain to inquire into the causes of the wretchedness of the country, it was found that the Jews had accumulated to themselves either by trade or usury all the money in the nation; and upon a computation there appeared to be no less than one hundred and fifty thousand of this foreign nation amongst them, who were at once so odious and so necessary to the Spaniards. A number of the grandees, who had nothing left but their titles, had married into Jewish families, as the only means of repairing the losses they had sustained by their prodigality; and they made the less scruple of such an alliance, as it had for a long time been customary for the Christians to intermarry with the Moors. It was therefore debated in the king and queen's council, by what means the nation might be delivered from this underhand tyranny of the Jews, after having shaken off that of the Mahometans. At length they came to a resolution, in the year 1492, to drive all the Jews out of the kingdom, and share their spoils. Accordingly they were allowed only six months to dispose of their effects, which they were

consequently obliged to part with at a very low price. They were furthermore forbidden, on pain of death, to carry with them either gold, silver, or jewels. In consequence of this ordinance, no less than thirty thousand Jewish families left the kingdom of Spain, which, at a computation of five persons in each family, amounts to one hundred and fifty thousand souls. Part retired into Africa, and part into Portugal and France, and several returned, under pretence of embracing the Christian religion. They had been expelled from the kingdom for the sake of getting possession of their riches, and they were received again for the sake of those they brought back with them; and it was principally on their account that the tribunal of the Inquisition was set up, that upon the least attempt to exercise any act of their own religion, they might be proceeded against juridically, and their possessions forfeited. No such treatment is offered in India to the Banians, who are exactly in that country what the Jews are in Europe, a people separated from all the other nations by a religion as ancient as the annals of the world, but united with them by the necessity of commerce, of which they are the factors, and by which they acquire as great riches as the Jews do amongst us. These Banians are not hated, either by Mahometans, Christians, or Pagans; whereas the Jews are held in execration by all nations amongst whom they are admitted. Some Spanish writers pretend that this nation had grown formidable: they were

certainly hurtful to the Spaniards by the immense profits they made of them, but they were not a warlike people, and therefore there was nothing to fear from them. The Spaniards feigned to be alarmed at what was only a piece of vanity in the Jews, namely, their having endeavored long before the Christians to form a settlement on the southern coasts of the kingdom. It is certain that they had from time immemorial flocked in great numbers into the province of Andalusia: now they had attempted to cloak this fact under a thousand idle and fabulous notions, which have always prevailed among these people, the more sensible part of whom always confine themselves to business, and leave rabbinism to those who have nothing better to do. The Spanish rabbins had written a great deal to prove that a colony of Jews flourished in these parts in the time of King Solomon, and that the inhabitants of ancient Bœotia paid a tribute to him: they endeavored to support this assertion by a number of false medals and inscriptions. This piece of deceit, with others of a more essential kind of which they were accused, contributed not a little to their disgrace.

From this time began in Spain and Portugal the distinction between old and new Christians, or those families which had intermarried with Jews, and those which had made alliances with Moors.

Nevertheless the temporary profit which accrued to the state from the violence offered to the Jews soon deprived it of the certain revenues which these

people used to pay into the royal treasury. This deficiency continued to be severely felt till the Spaniards made themselves masters of the riches of the new world. However, they provided against this inconvenience as much as they could by the help of bulls: that granted by Pope Julius II., in 1509, called the *Cruzado,* brought more money into the government than all the taxes it had laid upon the Jews. Every private person was obliged to purchase one of these bulls, for the permission to eat meat in Lent, and on Fridays, and Saturdays throughout the year. No one who went to confession could receive absolution without first showing this bull to the priest. They afterward fell upon the invention of the bull of composition, by virtue of which a person was allowed to keep anything he had stolen, provided he did not know the owner. Such superstitious practices are certainly as bad as anything with which they reproached the Hebrews. Folly, infatuation, and vice are in every country a part of the public revenue.

The form of absolution given to those who purchased this bull is not unworthy a place in this general picture of the customs and manners of mankind. "By the authority of Almighty God, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of our most holy father, the pope, to me committed, I grant you the remission of all your sins, confessed, forgotten, and unknown; and from the pains of purgatory."

The Mahometans underwent the same treatment

from Isabella, or rather from her minister, Cardinal Ximenes, as the Jews had done; great numbers of them were forced to become Christians, notwithstanding the articles of capitulation at Granada, and were sent to the stake if they turned again to their own religion. This drove as many Moors out of the kingdom as it had done Jews; nor do we lament the fate of either the Arabs or the Hebrews, the one having so long held Spain in subjection, and the other having for a still longer time continued to plunder it.

About this time the Portuguese first emerged from their obscurity; and, notwithstanding the ignorance of those ages, began to merit a glory as lasting as the universe, by the great change they wrought in the commerce of the world, which was the fruit of their discoveries. The Portuguese were the first of all the modern nations who navigated on the Atlantic Ocean, and are indebted only to themselves for the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, whereas the Spaniards owe the discovery of America to foreigners. But it is to one man only, namely, the infant Don Henry, that the Portuguese are indebted for that great undertaking, against which they at first so loudly murmured. Whatever has been done either great or noble in the world has been brought about wholly by the genius and courage of a single man, who has dared to oppose the prejudices of the multitude.

Portugal was employed in its great navigations

and successes in Africa, and took no part in the events of Italy, which alarmed the rest of Europe.

ITALY.

I shall now set before you the powers, the interests, and the manners of the several nations, from the mountains of Dauphiny to the extremity of Italy.

The dominions of Savoy, which were not then so extensive as they are at present, as containing neither Montferrat nor Saluca, and being destitute both of money and commerce, were not looked upon as a barrier. Its sovereigns were attached to the house of France, which had lately, during their minority, disposed of the government; and the passage of the Alps was left open.

From Piedmont we descend into the territories of Milan, the most fertile country of Upper Italy. This, as well as Savoy, was an imperial principality, but powerful and altogether independent of a feeble empire. This state, after having belonged to the Visconti, passed into the hands of a peasant's bastard, a great man himself, and the son of a great man. This peasant was Francis Sforza, who by his own merit rose to be constable of Naples, and one of the most powerful noblemen in Italy. His bastard son of one of the condottieri, and chief of these disciplined banditti, who sold their service to the popes, the Venetians, and the Neapolitans. He made himself master of Naples in the middle of the fifteenth

century, and some time afterward of Genoa, which had formerly been so flourishing a republic, and which, after having sustained nine successive wars with Venice, was now fluctuating from one state of slavery to another. It had offered itself to the French in the reign of Charles VI., and had afterward revolted: it then acknowledged the authority of Charles VII., in 1458, and again shook off his yoke. It would next have submitted to Louis XI. but that monarch returned for answer that it might give itself to the devil, for he would have nothing to do with it. After all, in 1464, it was obliged to submit to Francis Sforza, duke of Milan.

1476 — Galeazzo Sforza, the son of this bastard, was assassinated in the cathedral church of Milan on St. Stephen's day. I mention this circumstance, which otherwise would be frivolous, because here it is of importance; for the assassins loudly invoked St. Stephen and St. Ambrose to inspire them with sufficient courage to murder their prince. Poisonings, assassinations, and superstition were the distinguishing characteristics of the Italians in those days, who, though well versed in the arts of revenge, knew not how to fight, consequently the number of poisoners far exceeded that of good soldiers. The son of this unfortunate Galeazzo Sforza, while yet an infant, succeeded him in the duchy of Milan, under the guardianship of his mother, and Chancellor Simonetta. But his uncle, Ludovico Sforza, or Louis the Moor, drove the mother out of the kingdom, put

the chancellor to death, and soon after poisoned his nephew.

It was this Louis the Moor who entered into a treaty with Charles VIII. to favor the descent of the French in Italy.

Tuscany, a country less beholden to the gifts of nature, was to Milan what the ancient Attica was to Bœotia; for within the last century Florence had signalized itself, as we have already seen, by its attention to commerce and the liberal arts. The family of Medici was at the head of this polite nation, than whom no house ever acquired supreme power by a more just title. It obtained it by mere dint of beneficence and virtue. Cosmo de Medici, born in 1389, was a private citizen of Florence, who lived without seeking for titles; but acquired by commerce a fortune equal to the greatest monarchs of his time. He employed his great wealth in relieving the poor, in making himself friends among the rich by lending money to them, in adorning his country with superb edifices, and in inviting to Florence the men of learning among the Greeks who were driven from Constantinople. His advice was for the space of thirty years the law of the republic. His only arts were his good deeds, which are of all others the most just. After his death his papers showed that he had lent immense sums to his countrymen, of which he had never demanded the least payment, and he died, in 1464, universally regretted by his very enemies. The people of Florence with one consent adorned

his tomb with the glorious epitaph of father of his country, a title which not one of the many kings we have seen pass in review were ever able to obtain.

His reputation procured his descendants the chief authority in Tuscany. His son took the administration under the name of Gonfalonier. His two grandsons, Lorenzo and Julian, who were masters of the republic, were set upon in the church by a band of conspirators at the time of the elevation of the host. Julian died, in 1478, of the wounds he received, but Lorenzo made his escape. Florence resembled Athens, both in government and genius. It was at one time aristocratic, and at another popular, and dreaded nothing so much as tyranny.

Cosmo de Medici might be compared to Pisistratus, who, notwithstanding his great power, was ranked in the number of sages. The sons of this Cosmo resembled those of Pisistratus, who were assassinated by Harmodius and Aristogiton. Lorenzo escaped from his murderers, and so did one of the sons of Pisistratus, and both of them lived to avenge the death of his brother: but that happened in Florence which did not at Athens; the chiefs of religion were concerned in this bloody conspiracy. Pope Sixtus V. planned it, and the archbishop of Pisa set it on foot.

The people of Florence avenged this cruel act on those who were found guilty; and the archbishop himself was hanged at one of the windows of the public palace. Lorenzo, thus avenged by his fellow

citizens, made himself beloved by them during the rest of his life. He was surnamed the father of the muses, a title not equal indeed to that of father of his country, but which showed that he was so in fact. It was a thing no less admirable than foreign to our manners to see this citizen, who always addicted himself to commerce, selling with one hand the produce of the Levant, and with the other supporting the weight of the republic; entertaining factors and ambassadors; opposing an artful and powerful pope, making peace and war, standing forth the oracle of princes, and the cultivator of the belles-lettres, furnishing amusements for the people, and giving a reception to the learned Greeks of Constantinople. His son Peter held the supreme authority in Florence, at the time that the French made their expedition to Naples; but with much less credit than either his predecessors or descendants.

PAPAL STATE.

The papal state was not then what it now is; nor yet what it would have been had the popes been in a condition to profit by the donations which it was thought Charlemagne had left them, and those which they were really entitled to by the gift of Countess Mathilda. The house of Gonzaga was in possession of Mantua, for which it did homage to the empire. Several lords, under the titles of vicars of the empire, or of the Church, were in peaceable fruition of those fine territories which now belong to the

popes. Perugia belonged to the family of the Bailloni; the Bentivoglios had Bologna; the Polentas Ravenna; the Manfredi Faenza; the Sforzas Pesaro; the Rimerios were in possession of Imola and Forli; the house of Este had for a long time governed in Ferrara; the Picos in Mirandola, and the Roman barons had great power in Rome; whence they were called the pope's hand-cuffs. The families of Colonna and Orsini, the Conti, and the Savilli, who were the principal barons, and ancient possessors of the most considerable demesnes, divided the Roman state by their continual disputes, like the great lords of France and Germany, who waged war with each other at the time that those kingdoms were in their feeble state. The people of Rome, who were very fond of processions, and forever crying out for plenary indulgences from their popes, frequently mutinied upon their deaths, rifled their palaces, and were ready to throw their bodies into the Tiber, as was particularly the case on the death of Pope Innocent VIII.

After his decease, Rodrigo Borgia, a Spaniard, was chosen pope, and took the name of Alexander VI., a man whose memory has been made execrable by the cries of all Europe, and the pen of every historian. The Protestants, who in the next age separated themselves from the Church of Rome, added still more to the measure of this pontiff's iniquities. We shall see presently whether more crimes were laid to his charge than he deserved. The exaltation

of this man to the papal chair sufficiently shows the manners and spirit of his age, so different from those of the present. The cardinals who elected him must have known that he at that time openly brought up five children which he had by Vanozza. They must necessarily have foreseen that all possessions, honors, and authority would be in the hands of his family, and yet they chose him for their master. The chiefs of the faction in the conclave sold for a trifling sum, not only their own interest, but those of all Italy.

VENICE.

Venice extended its dominions on the mainland from the Lake of Como to the middle of Dalmatia. The Turks had despoiled it of all which it had formerly taken in Greece from the Christian emperors; but it still retained the large island of Candia, and afterward acquired that of Cyprus in 1437, by the donation of its last queen, daughter of Marco Cornaro, the Venetian. But the industry of its inhabitants was of greater value than those two islands, or the whole of its demesnes on the continent. The wealth of other nations rolled in on it, through all the various channels of commerce; all the princes of Italy stood in awe of this republic, and she herself was in dread of an invasion from France.

Of all the governments in Europe, that of Venice was alone regular, stable, and uniform. It had but one essential fault, which indeed was not thought such by the senate; which was, that it wanted a coun-

terpoise to the power of the patricians, and proper encouragement for the common people. No private citizen of Venice could hope to rise by his merit, as in ancient Rome. The chief excellence of the English government, since the House of Commons has had a share in the legislature, consists in this counterpoise, and in leaving the way to honors and dignities open to all such who are deserving of them.

NAPLES.

As to the Neapolitans, they were always a weak and fickle people, alike incapable of governing themselves, of choosing a king, or being contented with him they had; and always at the mercy of the first power who chose to invade them with an army.

Old King Fernando reigned at that time in Naples. He was a bastard of the house of Aragon. Illegitimacy at that time was no bar to the throne. A bastard race wore the crown of Castile; and a bastard, descendant of Don Pedro the Severe, governed Portugal. Fernando therefore reigned by this title in Naples; he had received the investiture of that kingdom from the pope, in prejudice to the heirs of the house of Anjou, who still asserted their rights. But he was neither beloved by the pope, his lord paramount, nor by his own subjects, and died in 1434, leaving behind him an unfortunate family, whom Charles VIII. deprived of a throne which he could not keep; and whom he afterward, to his own misfortune, continued to persecute.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

THE CONQUEST OF NAPLES—ZIZIM, BROTHER TO BAJAZET II.—POPE ALEXANDER VI., ETC.

CHARLES VIII., his council, and his young courtiers were so intoxicated with the project of conquering the kingdom of Naples that they restored to Maximilian, Artois and Franche-Comté, which had been taken from his wife; and returned Cerdagne and Roussillon to Ferdinand the Catholic, with the remission of three hundred thousand crowns, which he owed, on condition that he should not interrupt the progress of the war. In this they never reflected that twelve villages added to a state are of greater value than a kingdom situated four hundred leagues from it. They committed another error in trusting to the Catholic king.

1494 — At length Charles VIII. entered Italy: he undertook this expedition with only sixteen hundred men at arms, who with their archers, made a squadron of five thousand horsemen, heavily armed; two hundred gentlemen of his guard, five hundred light horse, six thousand French foot, and the same number of Swiss; and so badly provided with money that he was obliged to borrow on his march, and even to pledge the jewels which had been lent him by the duchess of Savoy. Nevertheless, this army produced consternation and submission wherever it came. The Italians were amazed to see such heavy

artillery drawn by horses, they having only been accustomed to small brass culverins drawn by oxen. The Italian gendarmerie was composed of spadassins or bravos, who hired themselves at an extravagant price to the condottieri, who sold their services at a still more exorbitant rate to those princes who stood in need of their dangerous assistance. These chiefs took such names as were most likely to strike terror into the ignorant people, such as "*taille-cuisse*," "*fier-à-bras*," "*fracasse*," or "*sacripend*"; *i. e.* "Slash-thigh," "Arm-strong," "Havoc," etc. They were all afraid of losing their men, therefore only pursued the enemy, and never came to blows: those who kept the field were the conquerors. Indeed, in these time there was much more blood shed in private revenge, among citizens, and in conspiracies, than in battle. Machiavelli tells us, that in one of the battles fought at this time there was only one horseman killed, and he was trampled to death by the crowd.

The prospect of a serious war, therefore, filled them with dread, and not one dared to appear. Pope Alexander VI., the Venetians, and Louis the Moor, duke of Milan, who had invited Charles into Italy, endeavored to throw obstacles in his way as soon as he entered it. Peter de Medici, who was obliged to ask his protection, was for so doing expelled from the republic, and retired to Venice, whence he never dared to venture forth, though assured of the king's protection; which he did not think sufficient

to secure him against the private vengeance of his countrymen.

The king entered the city of Florence as its lord, and delivered Sienna from the Tuscan yoke, to which it was soon afterward again obliged to submit. He then marched to Rome, where Alexander VI. in vain intrigued against him, and he entered that city as a conqueror. The pope had taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo; but as soon as he saw the French cannon pointed against those feeble ramparts he capitulated.

1494 — It cost him only a cardinal's hat to make his peace with the king. The president, Brissonet, who from a lawyer had become an archbishop, persuaded the king to this agreement, by which he gained the purple. A king is often well served by his subjects who are cardinals, but seldom by those who are in pursuit of that dignity. The king's confessor was also in the secret. Charles, whose interest it was to have deposed the pope, forgave him, and repented of it afterward; and certainly never pontiff more deserved the indignation of a Christian prince. He and the Venetians had applied to the Turkish sultan, Bajazet II., son and successor to Mahomet II., to assist them in driving Charles VIII. out of Italy. It was even asserted that this pope had sent Bozzo in quality of nuncio to the Ottoman Porte, and that this alliance between the pope and the sultan was purchased by one of those inhuman murders which

are not committed without horror even in the seraglio of Constantinople.

The pontiff, by an extraordinary chain of events, had at that time in his possession the person of Zizim, or Jem, the brother of Bajazet. The manner in which this son of Mahomet II. fell into the hands of the pope is as follows:

Zizim, who was adored by the Turks, had disputed the empire with Bajazet, who was as much hated by them: but notwithstanding the young prince had the prayers of the people for him, he was defeated. In this disgrace he had recourse by an ambassador to the Knights of Rhodes, now the Knights of Malta. He was at first received by them as a prince to whom they stood bound in the laws of hospitality, and who might one day be of service to them; but soon afterward they treated him as their prisoner. Bajazet paid these knights forty thousand sequins a year not to suffer Zizim to return again to Turkey. The knights conveyed him to one of their commanderies at Poitou, in France, called le Bourneuf. Charles VIII. had received at one time an ambassador from Bajazet, and a nuncio from Pope Innocent VIII., Alexander's predecessor, relating to this valuable captive. The sultan claimed him as his subject, and the pope wanted to have possession of his person as a pledge of safety for Italy against the attempts of the Turks. In the end, Charles sent Zizim to the pope. The pontiff received him with all the splendor and magnificence which

the sovereign of Rome could show to the brother of the sovereign of Constantinople. They would have obliged Zizim to kiss the pope's feet; but Bozzo, who was an eye-witness of the whole, assures us that the Turk rejected this mark of submission with indignation. Paul Giovio says that Alexander VI. sold Zizim's life in a treaty he made with Bajazet. The king of France, full of his vast projects, and certain of the conquest of Naples, wanted to become formidable to Bajazet, by having the person of this unhappy brother in his power. The pope, according to Paul Giovio, delivered him to Charles, after poisoning him. It is not clearly shown whether this poison was given him by one of the pope's domestics, or by a secret emissary of the Grand Seignior. It was however publicly declared that Bajazet had promised the pope three hundred thousand ducats for his brother's head.

Prince Demetrius Cantemir says that, according to all the Turkish annals, Zizim was murdered by his barber, who cut his throat, and that, in recompense, Bajazet afterward made this barber his grand vizier. It is hardly probable that they would have made a barber general and prime minister. If Zizim had been murdered after this manner, Charles VIII., who sent his body to his brother, must certainly have discovered the nature of his death: and the writers of those times would have made mention of it: therefore Prince Cantemir and the accusers of Alexander VI. may be equally deceived. The pub-

lic, through hatred to this pontiff, imputed to him all the crimes that it was possible for him to commit.

The pope having taken an oath not to disturb the king in his conquests, was set at liberty and appeared again as pontiff on the Vatican theatre. There, in a public consistory, the king appeared to pay him what is called the homage of obedience, assisted by John de Gannai, first president of the Parliament of Paris, who certainly ought to have been elsewhere than at such a ceremony. The king then kissed the feet of the person whom two days before he would have condemned as a criminal; and, to complete the scene, he served the pope at high mass. Guicciardini, a contemporary writer of great credit, assures us that in the church the king sat below the cardinal dean. We must not, therefore, be surprised that Cardinal de Bouillon, dean of the sacred college, has in our time, upon the authority of these ancient customs, expressed himself thus, in a letter to Louis XIV.: "I am going to take possession of the first seat in the Christian world, next to the supreme."

Charlemagne had caused himself to be declared in Rome, emperor of the West. Charles VIII. was in the same city declared emperor of the East, but after a very different manner. One Palæologus, nephew to him who had lost the empire and his life, made an empty cession in favor of Charles VIII., and his successors, of an empire which could no longer be recovered.

As he was on the march back, he fell in with the

confederate army, of thirty thousand men, near the village of Fornovo in Placentia, rendered famous by that day's action. He had not more than eight thousand men with him. If he was beaten, he lost his liberty or his life; if he conquered, he only gained the advantage of a retreat. He now gave a proof of what he might have done in this expedition, had his prudence been equal to his courage. The Italians soon fled before him. In this engagement he did not lose above two hundred men, while the loss of the allies amounted to above four thousand. Such is usually the advantage which a disciplined army, though small in number, headed by their king, has over a raw and mercenary multitude. The Venetians reckoned as a victory the having plundered a part of the king's baggage; and carried his tent in triumph into their own country. Charles VIII. conquered only to secure his return to his kingdom; and left one-half of his little army at Novara, in the duchy of Milan, where the duke of Orleans was quickly besieged.

The confederates might have attacked him a second time with great advantage; but they did not dare. "There is no withstanding," said they, "*la furia francese.*" The French did in Italy exactly that which the English had done in France. They conquered with inferiority of numbers, and they lost their conquests.

While the king was at Turin, everyone was surprised to hear the chamberlain of Pope Alexander

VI. order the king of France, in his master's name, instantly to withdraw his troops from the territories of Milan and Naples, and repair to Rome to give an account of his conduct to the holy father, under pain of excommunication. This bravado would have been a subject of laughter, had not this pontiff's conduct in other respects furnished too serious matter for complaint.

The king at length returned to France, where he showed as much remissness in preserving his conquests as he had displayed eagerness in making them. Frederick, the uncle of Fernando, the dethroned king of Naples, who became titular king after the death of his nephew, recovered the whole of his kingdom in less than a month's time, by the help of Gonsalvo of Cordova, called the Great Captain, whom Ferdinand the Catholic had sent at that time to his assistance.

The duke of Orleans, who soon after succeeded to the crown of France, was glad to be suffered to depart quietly from Novara. At length there remained not the least trace of this torrent which had overspread Italy; and Charles VIII., whose glory had been so transient, died in 1497, without issue, at the age of twenty-eight; leaving his successor, Louis XII., to follow his example, and to repair his errors.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

SAVONAROLA.

Before we proceed to examine how Louis XII. maintained his rights in Italy, what became of that fine country rent by so many factions, and disputed by so many powers, and in what manner the popes formed that extensive state of which they are at present in possession, we owe some attention to an extraordinary fact which at that time exercised the credulity of all Europe, and displayed the full power of fanaticism.

There was at Florence a Dominican, named Girolamo Savonarola, who was one of those church orators who think that a talent for speaking in the pulpit qualifies them for governing the nation, and one of those divines who, because they can explain the Apocalypse, think they are prophets. He directed, he preached, he heard confessions, he wrote; and living in a free city, which was consequently filled with factions, he aimed at becoming the head of the people.

As soon as it was known to the principal citizens of Florence that Charles VIII. meditated a descent upon Italy, this man took upon himself to foretell it; and the people therefore believed him inspired. He inveighed against Pope Alexander VI.; he encouraged such of his countrymen as persecuted the family of Medici, and bathed their hands in the blood of the

friends to that house. No man had ever been in greater degree of credit with the common people of Florence. He had become a kind of tribune among them, by having procured the artificers admission into the magistracy. The pope and the Medici family fought Savonarola with his own weapons, and sent a Franciscan to preach against him. There subsisted a more mortal hatred between the two orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, than between the Guelphs and Ghibellines. The Cordelier succeeded so well that he rendered his antagonist, the Dominican, odious. The two orders now let loose all the fury of invective against each other. At last a Dominican friar offered to undergo the trial of fire in vindication of Savonarola's sanctity. This was answered by a Franciscan friar, who offered to undergo the same trial to prove Savonarola an impostor and a profligate wretch. The people, eager for this spectacle, cried aloud for its being put into execution, and the magistracy was obliged to give orders for it. Everyone had at that time fresh in mind the old fabulous story of the monk Aldobrandini, surnamed *Petrus igneus,* or Peter the Fiery, who, in the eleventh century, passed through two flaming piles of wood; and the partisans of Savonarola had not the least doubt that God would do as much for a Jacobin friar as he had heretofore done for a Benedictine. The contrary faction entertained like hopes in behalf of the Cordelier.

At length the fires were lighted, and the two

champions appeared in the midst of an innumerable crowd of spectators. But when they came to take a cool view of the two piles in flames, they both began to tremble, and their fears suggested to them a common evasion. The Dominican would not enter the pile without the host in his hand, and the Cordelier pretended that this was no article of the agreement. Both were obstinate, and mutually assisted each other in getting over this false step. In short, they did not exhibit the shocking farce they had proposed.

The people upon this, stirred up by the Franciscan party, would have seized upon Savonarola; and the magistracy ordered him to quit the city: but although he had the pope, the Medici family, and the people all against him he refused to obey, upon which he was seized and put to the torture seven times. By the extract of his confession we learn that he acknowledged himself to be a false prophet and an impostor, who abused the secrets of confession, and those which were revealed to him by the society. Could he do otherwise than own himself an impostor? Is not everyone who enters into cabals under pretence of being inspired an impostor? Perhaps he was moreover a fanatic. The human imagination is capable of uniting these two extremes, which appear so contradictory. If he had been condemned only through a motive of justice, a prison and severe penance had been sufficient punishments; but the spirit of party had a share in his sufferings. In

short, he was sentenced, with two other Dominicans, to suffer in those flames which they had offered to encounter. However, they were strangled before they were thrown into the fire. Savonarola's party did not fail to attribute a number of miracles to him after his death, the last shift of those who have been attached to an unfortunate chief. We must not forget that Alexander VI., after he was condemned, sent him a plenary indulgence.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

PICO DE LA MIRANDOLA.

As THE adventure of Savonarola shows to what a height superstition was still carried, the disputations of the young prince of Mirandola may convince us of the flourishing state of the sciences in those times. These two different scenes passed at Florence and Rome among people then accounted the most ingenious in the world. Hence we may readily infer what darkness hung over the other nations of the earth, and how slow human reason is in its formation

It will always be a proof of the superiority of the Italians in those times, that John Francis Pico de la Mirandola, a sovereign prince, was from his earliest years a prodigy of learning and memory. Had he even lived in our days he would have been esteemed a miracle of real erudition. He had so strong a passion for the sciences that at length he renounced his principality and retired to Florence, where he

died in the year 1494, on the very day that Charles VIII. made his entry into that city. It is said, that at the age of eighteen he understood twenty-two different languages. This is certainly out of the ordinary course of nature. There is hardly any language which does not require over a year to learn it perfectly: therefore a young person, who, at so early an age as eighteen, knows twenty-two, must be suspected of understanding them very imperfectly, or of knowing only the elements at most, which is in fact knowing nothing at all.

It is still more extraordinary that this prince having studied so many languages should, at the age of twenty-four, be able to maintain theses at Rome on all the sciences without excepting one. In the front of his works we meet with one thousand four hundred general conclusions, on every one of which he offered to dispute. Now in all this immense study and learning, a few elements of geometry and the doctrine of the sphere are the only things which appear worthy of his great pains and application. All the rest only serve to show the genius of the times. We meet with the *summum* of St. Thomas, an abridgment of the works of Albert, surnamed the Great, and a mixture of divinity and peripateticism. Here we read that the angels are infinite *secundum quid;* and that animals and plants are formed by a corruption animated by a productive virtue. The whole is in this taste, and indeed it is all that was taught in the universities of those times. Thou-

sands of pupils had their heads filled with these chimeras, and continued to frequent, for forty or fifty years, the schools where they were taught. The knowledge of all other nations was as trifling. Those who held the reins of government in the world were therefore very excusable in being ignorant of them, and Pico of Mirandola very unhappy in having spent his life, and shortened his days in the pursuit of these grave fopperies.

The number of those who, born with a real genius, cultivated by reading the best Roman authors, had escaped this general night of learning, were very inconsiderable after Dante and Petrarch, whose works were better adapted for princes, statesmen, women, and men of fortune, who only seek for an agreeable amusement in reading; and these would have been more proper for the prince of Mirandola than the compilations of Albert the Great.

But he was carried away by a passion for universal knowledge; and this universal knowledge consisted in knowing by heart a few words upon every subject, which conveyed no kind of idea. It is difficult to comprehend how the same man who reasoned so justly and with so much nicety upon the affairs of the world and their several interests could be satisfied with such unintelligible jargon in almost everything else. The reason perhaps is, that mankind is fonder of appearing to know something, than of seeking after knowledge; and when error has gained the mastery of our minds during our tender

age we are at no pains to shake off its yoke, but rather strive to subject ourselves more to it. Hence it comes that so many men of real discernment and genius are so frequently under the dominion of popular errors.

Pico de la Mirandola wrote, indeed, against judicial astrology; but then, let us not mistake, it was only against the astrology practised in his time. He allowed of another kind, which, according to him, was the most ancient and true, and which he said had been neglected.

In his first proposition he expresses himself thus: "Magic, such as is now practised, and which is condemned by the Church, cannot be founded on truth, because it depends on those powers which are enemies to truth." Now by these very words, contradictory as they are, it is evident that he admitted magic to be the work of devils, which was the generally received opinion concerning it. Accordingly he affirms that there is no virtue in Heaven or on earth but what a magician can make subservient to his purposes: and he proves that words are of efficacy in magic, because God made use of speech in arranging the several parts of the universe.

These theses made more noise, and were in greater reputation at those times than the discoveries of Newton or the investigations of the great Locke in our days. Pope Innocent VIII. caused thirteen propositions of this great body of doctrine to be censured; a censure which resembled the decisions of

those Indians who condemned the opinion of the earth's being supported by a dragon, because, according to them, none but an elephant was able to support it. Pico de la Mirandola drew up an apology for his propositions, in which he complains of those who had censured him, and says, that being in company with one of them who were inveighing bitterly against the cabala, he asked him if he knew what was really meant by the word "cabala." A pretty question truly! answered the schoolman; does not everybody know that he was a heretic, who wrote against Jesus Christ?

At length it became necessary for Pope Alexander VI., who at least had the merit of despising these frivolous disputes, to send him his absolution. It is remarkable that he acted in the same manner by Pico de la Mirandola and Savonarola.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

POPE ALEXANDER VI. AND LOUIS XII. OF FRANCE.

Pope Alexander VI. was at that time engaged in two great designs, one was to restore to the pontifical demesnes the many territories which it was pretended they had been deprived of, and the other to procure a crown for his son, Cæsar Borgia. Infamous as his conduct was, it did not in the least impair his authority, and the people of Rome raised no seditions against him. He was publicly accused of a criminal correspondence with his own sister,

Lucretia, whom he took away from three husbands, successively, the last of whom, Alphonso of Aragon, he caused to be assassinated, that he might bestow her in marriage on the heir of the house of Este. These nuptials were celebrated in the Vatican by the most infamous diversions that debauch had ever invented for the confusion of modesty. Fifty courtesans danced naked before this incestuous family, and prizes were given to those who exhibited the most lascivious motions. The duke of Gandia and Cæsar Borgia, at that time archbishop of Valencia in Spain, and cardinal, were said to have publicly disputed the favors of their sister, Lucretia. The duke of Gandia was assassinated in Rome, and Cæsar Borgia was suspected as the author of his death. The personal estates of the cardinals belong at their decease to the pope, and Alexander was strongly suspected of having hastened the death of more than one member of the sacred college, that he might become their heir; notwithstanding all which the people of Rome obeyed without murmuring, and this pontiff's friendship was sought by all the potentates of Europe.

Louis XII., king of France, who succeeded Charles VIII., was more earnest than any other in seeking an alliance with Alexander: he had more reasons than one for this; he wanted to be divorced from his wife, the daughter of Louis XI., with whom he had consummated his marriage, and lived in wedlock for over twenty-two years, but without having

had any children. No law, excepting the law of nature, could authorize such a separation; and yet disgust and policy made it necessary.

Anne of Brittany, the widow of Charles VIII., still retained that inclination for Louis XII. which she had felt for him when duke of Orleans; and unless he married her, Brittany would be forever lost to the crown of France. It was an ancient but dangerous custom to apply to the court of Rome for permission to marry a relation, or to put away a wife; for these marriages or divorces having become necessary to the state, the tranquillity of a kingdom consequently depended upon the pope's manner of thinking; and the popes were frequently enemies to France.

The other reason which united Louis XII. to Alexander VI. was the desire he had to defend his fatal claim to the dominions of Italy. Louis claimed the duchy of Milan in right of one of his grandmothers, who was a sister of a Visconti, who had been in possession of that principality; but this claim was opposed by the exclusive right granted to Louis the Moor, by the emperor Maximilian, who had likewise married Louis's niece.

The public feudal law was so changeable that it could only be interpreted by the law of force. This duchy of Milan, the ancient kingdom of the Lombards, was a fief of the empire, and it had not been determined whether it was a male or female fief, or whether the daughters had a right of inheritance.

The grandmother of Louis XII., who was daughter of Visconti, duke of Milan, had by her marriage-contract only the county of Asti. This marriage-contract proved the cause of all the miseries of Italy, the disgraces of Louis XII., and the misfortunes of Francis I. Almost all the Italian states were thus fluctuating in uncertainty, unable either to recover their liberty, or to determine what master they were to belong to.

The claim of Louis XII. on Naples was the same as that of Charles VIII.

Cæsar Borgia, the pope's bastard, was charged with the commission of carrying the bull of divorce to France, and negotiating with the king on the measures relating to this conquest. Borgia did not leave Rome till he was assured of the duchy of Valentinois, a company of one hundred armed men, and a pension of twenty thousand livres, all of which Louis granted him, together with his promise to procure for him the king of Navarre's sister. Cæsar Borgia then, notwithstanding his being a deacon and archbishop, changed his ecclesiastical character for a secular one; and the pope, his father, granted a dispensation at one and the same time to his son to quit the Church, and to the king of France to quit his wife. Matters were quickly arranged, and Louis prepared for a fresh invasion of Italy.

In this enterprise he had the Venetians on his side, who were to have a share in the spoils of the Milanese. They had already taken Bressan and the

country of Bergamo, and aimed at nothing less than the possession of Cremona, to which they had as much right as to Constantinople.

The emperor Maximilian, whose business it was to have defended the duke of Milan, his father-in-law and vassal, against France, his natural enemy, was not at that time in a condition to assist him in person. He could with difficulty make head against the Swiss, who had effectually driven the Austrians out of all the places they had been possessed of in their country. Maximilian therefore acted upon this occasion the feigned part of indifference.

Louis XII. terminated amicably some disputes he had with this emperor's son, Philip the Handsome, father of Charles V., afterward sovereign of the Low Countries; and this Philip did homage in person to France for the counties of Flanders and Artois. This homage was received by Guy de Rochefort, chancellor of France, in the following manner: The chancellor, seated and covered, held between his hands those of the prince joined together, who, standing uncovered, and without his sword and girdle, pronounced these words: "I do homage to Monsieur, the king, for my peerages of Flanders, Artois," etc.

Louis having renewed the treaties made with England by Charles VIII., and being now secure on all sides, at least for a time, made his army pass the Alps. It is to be remarked that when he entered upon this war, instead of increasing the taxes he

diminished them, and this indulgence first procured him from his subjects the title of "Father of his Country." But at the same time he sold a number of the posts called royal offices, especially those in the finances. Would it not then have been better to have imposed a regular and equal tax upon the people than to have introduced a shameful venality in the posts of that country, of which he pretended to be the father? This custom of putting offices up at sale came from Italy: in Rome they had for a long time sold the places in the apostolic chamber, and it is only of late years that the popes have abolished this pernicious custom.

The army which Louis XII. sent over the Alps was not more considerable than that with which Charles VIII. had conquered Naples; but what must appear strange is that Louis the Moor, though only duke of Milan, Parma, and Placentia, and lord of Genoa, had an army altogether as strong as that of the king of France.

1499 — It was now seen for the second time what the *furia francese* could do against Italian cunning. The king's army, in twenty days' time, made itself master of the state of Milan and of Genoa, while the Venetians occupied the territory of Cremona.

Louis XII., after having conquered these beautiful provinces by his generals, made his entry into Milan, where he received the deputies from the Italian states, as a person who was their sovereign arbiter; but no sooner had he returned to Lyons than that

negligence which almost always succeeds impetuosity lost the French Milan, in the same manner as it had lost them Naples. Louis the Moor, during this transient restoration paid a gold ducat for the head of every Frenchman brought to him. Then Louis XII. made another effort, and sent his general, Louis de la Trimouille, to repair the former oversights, who again entered the duchy of Milan. The Swiss, who, since the death of Charles VIII., had made use of the liberty they had recovered, to dispose of their services to whosoever would pay for them, were in great numbers among the soldiery of the French army as well as in that of the Milanese. It is remarkable that the dukes of Milan were the first princes who took the Swiss into pay. Maria Sforza set this example to the rest of the princes of Europe.

But on this occasion some captains of this nation, which had hitherto resembled ancient Sparta, in its liberty, equality, poverty, and courage, stained the honor of their country by their greediness for money. The duke of Milan had trusted the care of his person to these people, preferably to his Italian subjects; but they soon proved how unworthy they were of such confidence, by entering into an arrangement with the French, and confining the duke in the city of Novara; and all the favor he could procure at their hands was to march out of the city with them in a Swiss dress, and a halbert in his hand. In this disguise he marched through the ranks of the French army; but those who had so basely sold him quickly

discovered him to the enemy, and he was taken prisoner and conducted to Pierre-en-Cise, and from thence to the same tower of Bourges where Louis XII. had been himself confined when duke of Orleans; thence he was removed to Loches, where he lived for ten years, not shut up in an iron cage, as vulgar report has it, but treated with distinction, and allowed during the last years of his confinement to go anywhere within five leagues of the castle.

Louis XII., now master of Milan and Genoa, resolved to get possession of Naples also; but he feared that same Ferdinand the Catholic who had once before driven the French from that country.

Therefore as he had before joined with the Venetians for the conquest of Milan, and had given them part of the spoils, he now entered into an engagement of the same nature with Ferdinand for the conquest of Naples, that prince preferring a share in the spoils of his family to the honor of succoring it; and by this treaty he divided with France the kingdom of Frederick, the last king of the bastard branch of Aragon. His Catholic majesty kept Apulia and Calabria to himself, and the rest went to France.

Pope Alexander VI., the ally of Louis XII., engaged in this conspiracy against an innocent monarch, his feudatory, and granted to these two kings the investiture he had before bestowed upon the king of Naples. The Catholic king sent the same general Gonsalvo de Cordova to Naples, under pretence of assisting his relative, but in reality to overwhelm

him. The French now invaded the kingdom by sea and land, and the Neapolitans were not accustomed to risk their lives in defence of their kings.

1501 — The unfortunate monarch, betrayed by his own relation, pressed by the French arms, and destitute of resources, chose rather to put himself in the hands of Louis XII., whom he looked upon as a generous enemy, than to trust to the Catholic king, who had behaved with such perfidy toward him. Accordingly he demanded a passport from the French to leave his kingdom, and arrived in France with five galleys; there he lived upon a pension granted him by the king, of one hundred and twenty thousand livres, of our present money. Strange destiny for a sovereign prince!

Louis XII. then had at one time a duke of Milan for his prisoner, and a king of Naples, a follower of his court, and his pensioner. The republic of Genoa was one of his provinces; his people were moderately taxed, and his kingdom the most flourishing in the world, and wanted nothing but the industry of commerce and the reputation of the liberal arts, which, as we shall hereafter see, were the peculiar lot of Italy.

CHAPTER XC.

THE VILLAINIES OF THE FAMILY OF ALEXANDER VI. AND OF CÆSAR BORGIA — SEQUEL OF AFFAIRS BETWEEN LOUIS XII. AND FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC — DEATH OF POPE ALEXANDER.

ALEXANDER VI. effected, in a less degree, that which Louis XII. executed in the greater. He subdued the fiefs in Romagna by the arms of his son; everything seemed to conspire to the aggrandizement of this son, who nevertheless had but little enjoyment of his good fortune, and labored, without knowing it, for the church patrimony.

There was not any one act of oppression, artifice, heroic courage or villainy which Cæsar Borgia left unpractised. He made use of more art and dexterity to get possession of eight or ten little towns, and to rid himself of a few noblemen that stood in his way, than Alexander, Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, or Mahomet had done to subdue the greater part of the habitable globe. Indulgences were sold to raise troops; and we are assured by Cardinal Bembo, that, in the territories of Venice alone, there were as many disposed of as amounted to one thousand six hundred gold marks. The tenth penny was levied on all the revenues of the clergy, under pretence of a war against the Turks, when, instead of that, it was only to carry on a slight skirmish near the gates of Rome.

First they seized the estates of the Colonnas and Savatelli, in the neighborhood of Rome. Borgia next made himself master, partly by artifice, and partly by force, of Forli, Faenza, Rimini, Imola, and Piombino, and in the course of these petty conquests, perfidy, assassination, and poison were the chief arms he used. He demanded, in the name of the pope, troops and artillery from the duke of Urbino, which he employed against this very duke, and drove him out of his dominions. He drew the lord of Camerino to a conference, where he caused him to be strangled, together with two of his sons. He engaged, upon the surety of the most solemn oaths, four noblemen — the dukes of Gravina, Oliverotto, Pagolo, and Vitelli — to come and treat with him near Senigallia, who fell into the ambush he had prepared for them; and Oliverotto and Vitelli were, by his orders, most inhumanly murdered. Could one suppose that Vitelli, when in the agonies of death, would beseech his murderer to obtain for him of the pope, his father, an indulgence *in articulo mortis;* and yet this is asserted by contemporary writers. Nothing can better show the weakness of mankind, and the force of persuasion. If Cæsar Borgia had died before his father, of that poison which it is pretended they had prepared for the cardinals, and of which both of them drank by mistake; if Borgia had been the first, I say, who had died on this occasion, it would have been no

matter of surprise to have heard him ask a plenary indulgence of his father.

Alexander VI. at the same time apprehended the relations of these unfortunate noblemen, and had them strangled in the castle of St. Angelo. What is truly deplorable is, that Louis XII., the father of his people, countenanced these barbarities of the pope in Italy, and suffered him with impunity to shed the blood of these victims for the sake of being assisted by him in conquering Naples. Thus, what is called policy and the interest of the estate made him unjustly partial to Alexander. What a policy, what an interest of estate must that be which led him to abet the oppression of a man by whom he was soon afterward betrayed himself!

It was the destiny of the French to conquer Naples, and to be again expelled from it. Ferdinand the Catholic, who had betrayed the last king of Naples, who was his relative, did not prove more faithful to Louis XII. who was his ally, but soon entered into an agreement with Pope Alexander, to deprive that prince of his share in that partition.

Gonsalvo de Cordova, who so well merited the title of the Great Captain, though not of the good man, and who used to say that the web of honor should be slightly woven, first deceived the French, and then conquered them. It appears to me, that the French commanders have in general a greater share of that courage which honor inspires than of the artifice necessary for conducting great affairs. The

duke of Nemours, a descendant of Clovis, who was then at the head of the French army, challenged Gonsalvo to single combat; Gonsalvo replied by defeating his army several times, especially at Cerignola in Apulia, in 1503, where Nemours himself was slain with four thousand of his men. It is said, that not more than nine Spaniards were killed in this battle, an evident proof that Gonsalvo had made choice of an advantageous post, that Nemours wanted prudence, and that his soldiers were disheartened. The famous Chevalier Bayard in vain sustained alone, on a narrow bridge, the attack of two hundred of the enemy. His resistance was glorious, but it answered no purpose.

In this war they first found out a new method of destroying mankind. Peter of Navarre, a soldier of fortune, and a great general among the Spaniards, discovered the use of mines, and made the first trial of them upon the French.

Notwithstanding this ill success, the kingdom of France was at that time so powerful that Louis XII. found himself able to send three armies at once into the field, and a large fleet to sea. Of these three armies, one was destined against Naples, and the two others for Roussillon and Fontarabia; but not one of them made any progress, and that sent against Naples quickly met with an entire defeat. At length Louis XII. irrecoverably lost his share of the kingdom of Naples.

1503 — Soon after, Italy was delivered from Pope

Alexander VI. and his son. All historians have taken pleasure in recording that this pope died of the poison he had prepared for several cardinals, whom he had invited to an entertainment. An end suitable to his life!

But there seems very little probability in this story. It is pretended, that being in urgent necessity of money, he wanted to inherit the estates of these cardinals; but it is proved that Cæsar Borgia carried away one hundred thousand gold ducats out of his father's treasury after his death, consequently this want of money was not real. Besides, how came this mistake in the bottle of poisoned wine, which is said to have occasioned this pope's death and brought his son to the brink of the grave? Men who have been long conversant with crimes of this nature leave no room for making such mistakes. No person is mentioned as having made this confession; it would seem very difficult then, to have come at the information. If, when the pope died, this had been known to be the cause of his death, those who were intended to be poisoned must have likewise come to the knowledge of it, and they would hardly have permitted Borgia to take quiet possession of his father's treasures. The people, who frequently hate their masters, and must have held such masters in particular execration, though they might have been kept under during Alexander's lifetime, would undoubtedly have rebelled at his death, would have disturbed the funeral obse-

quies of such a monster, and have torn his abominable son in pieces. In fine, the journal of the Borgia family says that the pope at the age of seventy-two was attacked by a violent tertian, which soon turned to a continual fever, and proved mortal: this is not the effect of poison. It is said moreover, that the duke of Borgia caused himself to be sewed up in a mule's belly: I should be glad to know to what sort of poison a mule's belly is an antidote, and how this dying man could go to the Vatican, and get his father's money. Was he shut up in his mule when he carried it off?

It is certain, that after the pope's death there was a sedition in Rome; the Colonnas and the Orsini entered it in arms. This was the most proper time for accusing the father and son of such a crime. In fine, Pope Julius II., who was the sworn enemy of this family, and who had the duke of Borgia for a long time in his power, never imputed that to him which was so universally laid to his charge.

But, on the other hand, how happens it that Cardinal Bembo, Guicciardini, Paul Giovio, Tommasi, and so many other writers of those times, all agree in this strange accusation? Whence such a multitude of particular circumstances? And why do they pretend to give the very name of the poison made use of on this occasion, which it seems was called Cantarella? To all this it may be answered, that it is no difficult matter to invent circumstances in an accusation, and that in one of so horrible a

nature, it was necessary to give the coloring of probability.

Alexander VI. left behind him a more detestable memory in Europe than Nero or Caligula in the Roman Empire; the sanctity of his station adding a double weight to his guilt. Nevertheless, Rome was indebted to him for her temporal greatness; and it was this pontiff who enabled his successors to hold at times the balance of Italy.

His son lost all the fruits of his crimes, and the Church profited by them. Almost all the cities which he had conquered, either by fraud or force, chose another master as soon as his father died; and Pope Julius II. obliged him soon after to deliver up the rest, so that he had nothing left of all his wicked greatness. Everything reverted to the holy see, which reaped more benefit from his wickedness than from the abilities of all its popes, assisted by the arms of religion.

Machiavelli pretends that he had so well concerted his measures, that he must have been master of Rome and the whole ecclesiastical state after the death of his father, but that it was impossible for him to foresee that he himself should be at the point of death at the very time that Alexander finished his life.

In a very short time he was abandoned by friends, enemies, allies, relatives, and all the world; and he who had betrayed so many, was himself at length betrayed; Gonsalvo de Cordova, the Great Captain,

with whom he had trusted himself, sent him prisoner to Spain. Louis XII. took from him his duchy of Valentinois, and his pension. At length, having found means to escape from his prison, he took refuge in Navarre. Courage, which is not a virtue, but a happy qualification, alike common to the wicked and the virtuous, did not forsake him in his distresses; and, while he was in his asylum, he still kept up to every part of his character: he carried on intrigues, and commanded in person the army of the king of Navarre, his father-in-law, during a war which that prince entered into at his advice to dispossess his vassals of their estates, as he himself had formerly done by the vassals of the holy see. He was slain fighting. A glorious end! whereas, we see in the course of this history, lawful sovereigns, and men of the strictest virtue, fall by the hand of the common executioner.

CHAPTER XCI.

SEQUEL OF THE POLITICAL CONCERNS OF LOUIS XII.

THE French might possibly have repossessed themselves of Naples, as they had done of Milan; But the ambition of Cardinal d'Amboise, prime minister to Louis XII., was the occasion of losing that state forever. Chaumont d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, so much admired for having only a single benefice, but who had at least another in the kingdom of France, which he governed without control,

wanted one of a more elevated rank. He aimed at the papacy after the death of Alexander VI., and he must have been elected, had his politics been equal to his ambition. He was master of great treasures. The army which was going to invade Naples was then at the gates of Rome: but the Italian cardinals persuaded him to remove it to a greater distance, pretending that the election would by that means appear more free, and consequently be of greater validity. He went into the snare, drew off the army, and then Cardinal Julian de la Rovere, in 1503, caused Pius III. to be elected, who lived not quite a month to enjoy his new dignity. After his death Cardinal Julian, called Julius II., was himself made pope, and the rainy season coming on, prevented the French from passing the Garigliano, and favored the operations of Gonsalvo de Cordova. Thus Cardinal d'Amboise, who nevertheless passes for a wise man, lost himself the tiara, and his master the kingdom of Naples.

A fault of another kind with which he is reproached is the unaccountable Treaty of Blois, by which the king's council, with one stroke of a pen, mutilated and destroyed the French monarchy. By this treaty the king gave his only daughter, by Anne of Brittany, in marriage to the grandson of the emperor, and Ferdinand the Catholic, his two greatest enemies; this young prince was the same who afterward proved the scourge and terror of France, and all Europe, by the name of Charles V. Can it

be supposed that he was to have in dowry with his wife the entire provinces of Brittany and Burgundy, with an absolute cession on the part of France, too, of all her rights to Milan and Genoa? and yet all this did Louis XII. give away from his kingdom, in case he should die without male issue. There can be no excuse for a treaty of so extraordinary a kind, unless by saying that the king and Cardinal d'Amboise had no intention to keep it, and that in short Ferdinand had taught the cardinal the art of dissimulation.

Accordingly, we find that the states-general, in an assembly held at Tours in 1506, remonstrated against this fatal scheme. Perhaps the king, who began to repent of what he had done, was artful enough to get his kingdom to demand that of him which he did not dare to do of his own accord; or perhaps he yielded to the remonstrances of the nation from the pure dictates of reason. In fine, the heiress of Anne of Brittany was taken from the heir of Austria and Spain, as her mother had been from the emperor Maximilian. She was then married to the count of Angoulême, afterward Francis I., and Brittany, which had been twice annexed to the crown of France, and was twice very near slipping through its hands, was now incorporated with it; and Burgundy also was still preserved.

Louis XII. is accused of committing another error in joining in a league against his allies, the Venetians, with all their secret enemies. And it was an

unheard-of event, that so many kings should conspire to destroy a republic, which not more than three hundred years before, was a town of fishermen, who afterward became illustrious and opulent merchants.

CHAPTER XCII.

THE LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES. POPE JULIUS II.

Pope Julius II., who was a native of Savona, in the Genoese dominions, could not without indignation see his country under the French yoke. Genoa had lately made an effort to recover its ancient liberty, for which Louis XII. punished that republic with more ostentation than rigor. He entered the city with his sword drawn, and ordered all its charters to be burned in his presence. He afterward caused a throne to be erected on a high scaffold, in the market-place, and obliged the principal citizens of Genoa to come to the foot of this scaffold, and there upon their knees to hear their sentence, which was only to pay a fine of one hundred thousand gold crowns: he then built a citadel to awe the city, which he called the bridle of Genoa.

The pope, who, like the most of his predecessors, wished to drive all foreigners out of Italy, endeavored to send the French over the Alps again; but he was willing, in the first place, to get the Venetians to join with him, and that they should begin

by restoring to him several cities, to which the holy see had pretensions, the greatest part of which had been wrested from their possessors by Cæsar Borgia, duke of Valentinois: and the Venetians, ever watchful of their interests, had, immediately after the death of Alexander VI., seized the towns of Rimini and Faenza, and several lands in Bologna, Ferrara, and the duchy of Urbino: these conquests they were determined to keep. Julius II. then made use of the French to oppose the Venetians, whom he had before endeavored to arm against the French: nor did he think the French alone sufficient, but endeavored to draw all the other powers of Europe into the league.

There was hardly one sovereign who had not some demand on the territories of this republic. Emperor Maximilian had unlimited pretensions as emperor; and besides, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, the march of Trevizana, and Friuli lay convenient for him. Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Aragon, might take back some seaport towns in Naples, which he had pledged to the Venetians. This would have been an easy way of paying off his debts. The king of Hungary had pretensions to a part of Dalmatia. The duke of Savoy might also claim the island of Cyprus, in virtue of his alliance with the princes of that country, who were now extinct. The people of Florence likewise, as near neighbors, might come in for their share in these demands.

1508 — Almost all the powers who were at enmity

with one another suspended their private disputes to join in the general league set on foot at Cambray, against the Venetians. The Turk, who was the natural enemy of this republic, but then at peace with her, was the only power who did not accede to this treaty. Never were so many kings in league against ancient Rome. Venice was as rich as all the confederates together. To this resource she trusted, and that dissension which she wisely judged would speedily happen among so many confederates. It was in her power to appease Julius II., who was the chief promoter of this league: but she disdained to make any concession, and dared the fury of the storm. This was perhaps the only time the Venetians were rash.

The pope began his declaration of war by excommunications, which at that time were held in more contempt at Venice than in any other nation. Louis XII. sent a herald at arms to the doge to denounce war in form against him; at the same time he demanded the restitution of the territories of Cremona, which he himself had ceded to the Venetians when they assisted him in retaking Milan, and moreover laid claim to Brescia, Bergamo, and several other territories.

The rapid success which had always accompanied the French army in the beginning of all their expeditions did not fail them in this. Louis XII., at the head of his army, routed the Venetian forces in the famous battle of Agnadello, fought near the river

Adda, in 1509. Immediately after this victory every one of the confederates seized his pretended lot. Julius II. made himself master of all Romagna. Thus the popes, who, as we are informed by history, owed their first demesnes to a French emperor, were now obliged to the victorious army of Louis XII., king of France, for the rest; and from that memorable day they became possessed of almost the whole of these territories which they at present occupy.

The emperor's troops in the meantime advanced toward Friuli, and seized Trieste, which has ever since belonged to the house of Austria. The Spaniards laid hold of the Venetian possessions in Calabria; and even the duke of Ferrara, and the marquis of Mantua, who were formerly generals in the Venetian service, had a share in the general spoil. Venice now exchanged her foolhardy courage for the deepest consternation. She abandoned all her towns on the mainland, released Padua and Verona from their oath of allegiance, and reduced to her ancient Lagunes, sued for mercy to Emperor Maximilian, whose great success made him inflexible.

And now Pope Julius, having fulfilled his first design, which was that of aggrandizing the see of Rome on the ruins of Venice, began to think of the second, which was to drive the barbarians, as they were called, out of Italy.

Louis XII. was returned to France, where, like Charles VIII., he remained as negligent in securing his conquests as he had been eager to make them.

The pope granted the Venetians his pardon, who, somewhat recovered from their first consternation, continued to make headway against the emperor.

At length Julius entered into a league with this republic against those very French whom he had before invited to assist in oppressing it. His aim was to ruin all the foreign powers in Italy by the arms of one another, and to exterminate the small remains of German authority yet left in that country, and to raise Italy to a respectable and powerful state, of which the sovereign pontiff might be the chief. To compass his project he spared neither negotiations, money, nor pains. He directed the war in person, he attended in the trenches, and braved death in all its shapes. He is blamed by most historians for his ambition and obstinacy: but they should do justice to his consummate courage, and the grandeur of his views.

A fresh error committed by Louis XII., favored the designs of Pope Julius. Louis was fond of that economy which is a virtue in a peaceable administration, but a vice in the prosecution of great undertakings.

By a mistaken discipline the chief strength of an army was at that time centred in the gendarmerie, who fought either on foot or on horseback; and the French had never been at the pains to form a good body of infantry of their own, which, however, was very easy to be done, as experience has since shown.

The kings of France then always kept a body of German and Swiss foot in their pay.

It is well known that the Swiss infantry greatly contributed to the conquest of Milan. In this business they had not only sold their lives, but even their honor, by betraying Louis the Moor. The Swiss cantons now demanded an increase of pay from Louis, which he refused to grant. The pope took advantage of this; he wheedled the Swiss, he gave them money, and flattered them with the title of Defenders of the Church. He sent emissaries among them to preach against the French; the people, naturally of a warlike disposition, ran in crowds to hear these sermons. What was this but preaching up a crusade?

It may have been observed, that through an unaccountable concurrence of circumstances and conjunctures, the French were now allies of the Germans, whose declared enemies they had been on so many former occasions. Nay, they were even their vassals; for Louis XII. had purchased for one hundred thousand gold crowns, the investiture of the duchy of Milan, of the emperor, who was neither a powerful ally nor a faithful friend, and who, as emperor, could not be supposed to love either the French or the pope.

Ferdinand the Catholic, whose dupe Louis had always been, deserted the League of Cambray as soon as he had gained possession of the places he claimed in Calabria. He had prevailed on the pope

to grant him the full and entire investiture of the kingdom of Naples, who by this means bound him firmly in his interest; so that Julius, by his superior skill in politics, gained over not only the Venetians, the Swiss, and the kingdom of Naples, but also the English, while France was left to bear the brunt of the war alone.

1510 — Louis XII., on being attacked by the pope, called an assembly of the bishops at Tours, to know whether he might safely defend himself against the pontiff, and whether the excommunications of this latter would be valid. In these more enlightened days, we may be surprised that such questions were thought necessary; but we should consider the prejudices of the times; and here I cannot forbear remarking the first case of conscience which was proposed in this assembly. The president put the question, whether or not the pope had a right to declare war on an occasion that did not relate to religion or the Church patrimony; it was answered in the negative. Now it is plain that the question here proposed was not that which should have been asked, and that the answer was contrary to what should have been given: for in matters of religion or church possessions, a bishop, if we believe the Holy Scriptures, should be so far from making war, that he is only to pray and to suffer; but in a political affair, a pope not only may, but should assist his allies, and avenge the cause of Italy. Besides, the pope made war at this time to increase

the Church demesnes by the addition of Ferrara and Bologna, whose possessors were under the protection of France.

This French assembly made a more noble answer, when it resolved to abide by the pragmatic sanction of Charles VIII., to stop all future remittances to Rome, and to levy a subsidy on the clergy of France for carrying on the war against the pope, the Roman head of these clergy.

The operations were begun on the side of Bologna and Ferrara. The pope laid siege to Mirandola; and this pontiff, at the age of seventy, appeared in the trenches armed *cap-a-pie,* visited all the works, hastened the operations, and entered the breach in person.

1511 —While the pope, worn out with age, was toiling under arms, the French king, still in the prime of his vigor, was holding councils, and endeavoring to stir up the ecclesiastical powers of Christendom, as the pope did the military ones. The council was held at Pisa, whither several cardinals, who were the pope's enemies, repaired. But this council of the king's proved a fruitless undertaking, while the pope's warlike enterprises met with success.

They in vain caused medals to be struck at Paris, in which Louis XII. was represented with this device, "*Perdam Babylonis nomen,*" — "I will destroy even the name of Babylon." It was shameful to boast of what he was so little able to execute.

Heroic deeds, and even battles gained, may serve to render a nation famous, but can never increase its power while there is an essential error in the political administration, which at length must bring on its ruin. This is what happened to the French in Italy. The brave Chevalier de Bayard acquired universal admiration by his courage and generosity. Young Gaston de Foix made his name immortal at the age of twenty-three, by repulsing a large body of Swiss, passing with amazing speed four rivers, beating the pope in Bologna, and gaining the famous battle of Ravenna, where he won immortal glory, and lost his life. These rapid exploits made a noble figure; but the king was at a great distance from his army: his orders came often too late, and were sometimes contradictory. His parsimony, at a time when he should have been lavish in his rewards, checked all emulation. Military discipline and subordination were unknown among his troops. The infantry was composed of German foreigners, who were mercenaries attached to no interest. The French gallantry, and that air of superiority which belongs to conquerors, at once irritated the subjected Italians, and made them jealous. At length the fatal blow was struck by Emperor Maximilian, who, gained over by the pope, published the imperial *avocatoria* — or letters of recall — by which every German soldier, serving in the armies of France, was ordered to quit them, under pain of being declared a traitor to his country.

The Swiss at the same time came down from their mountains to fight against the French, who at the time of the League of Cambray had all Europe for their ally, and now beheld it up in arms against them. These mountaineers made an honor of bringing with them the son of that Louis the Moor, duke of Milan, whom they had betrayed, to expiate in some measure the treachery they had been guilty of toward the father, by crowning his son.

The French, who were commanded by Marshal Trivulce, were obliged to abandon, one after another, all the towns they had taken from the furthermost part of Romagna to the borders of Savoy. The famous Bayard made some fine retreats; but he was still a hero obliged to fly. There were but three months between the victory of Ravenna and the total expulsion of the French from Italy: and Louis XII. had the mortification of seeing young Maximilian Sforza, son of the deceased duke, who had been a prisoner in his dominions, settled upon his father's throne by the Swiss; and Genoa, where that prince had established a kind of Asiatic pomp of power, resumed its liberty, and drove the French out of his territories.

The Swiss, who from being mercenaries to the French king, had now become his enemies, laid siege to the city of Dijon, with twenty thousand men. Paris was struck with dread; and Louis de la Trimouille, governor of the province of Burgundy,

could not get rid of these invaders, without paying them twenty thousand crowns in ready money, with a promise in the king's name of four hundred thousand more, and giving seven hostages for the payment. Thus were the French obliged to pay dearer for the invasion of these people than they would have done for their assistance. The Swiss, enraged at not receiving the fourth part of the money stipulated, condemned the hostages to be put to death: upon which the king was obliged to promise not only to pay them the whole sum agreed, but also to advance as much more. But the hostages having luckily made their escape, the king saved his money, but not his honor.

CHAPTER XCIII.

SEQUEL OF THE AFFAIRS OF LOUIS XII., OF FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC, AND OF HENRY VIII., KING OF ENGLAND.

This famous League of Cambray, which was at first set on foot against the Venetians, was at length turned against France, and became particularly fatal to Louis XII. We have already seen that there were two princes in Europe above the rest, superior in abilities to the French king; these were Ferdinand the Catholic and the pope. Louis had made himself feared only for a short time; and afterward had all the rest of Europe to fear.

While he was losing Milan and Genoa, together

with his money and his troops, he was moreover deprived of a barrier which France had against Spain. His ally and relative, John d'Albret, king of Navarre, saw his dominions in an instant seized by Ferdinand the Catholic. This robbery was covered by a religious pretext. Ferdinand pretended a bull from Pope Julius II., excommunicating John d'Albret as an adherent of the French king, and the Council of Pisa. The kingdom of Navarre has ever since continued in the possession of the Spaniards.

The better to understand the politics of this Ferdinand, so remarkable for his continual professions of religion and good faith, and his always breaking them, let us examine the art he used in this conquest. The young king of England, Henry VIII., was his son-in-law. To him he proposed a treaty of alliance, by which the English were to be reinstated in Guienne, their ancient patrimony, whence they had been expelled above a century. The young king, dazzled with this specious promise, sent a fleet and forces into the Bay of Biscay, in 1512, which Ferdinand employed in the conquest of Navarre; and afterward left the English to return home, without making the least attempt upon Guienne, which indeed it was impracticable to invade. Thus he deceived his son-in-law, after having successively imposed on the king of Naples, the Venetians, Louis XII., and the pope. His Spanish subjects gave him the titles of the Wise and the

Prudent; in Italy he was called the Pious; and at Paris and London the Treacherous.

Louis XII., who had provided sufficiently for the security of Guienne, had not the same good fortune with regard to Picardy. The new king of England, Henry VIII., took advantage of the general distress to invade France on this side, into which he had always an easy access through Calais, of which he was in possession.

This young monarch, boiling with ambition and courage, attacked France alone, without the assistance either of the emperor Maximilian, of Ferdinand the Catholic, or any other of his allies. The old emperor, always enterprising and poor, served without blushing in the king of England's army, for the daily pay of one hundred crowns. Henry, by his single strength, seemed in a condition to renew the fatal times of Poitiers and Agincourt. He gained a complete victory at the battle of Guinegate, which is called the Battle of the Spurs, in 1513. He took Terouane, which is no longer a town; and Tournay, a city which has been always incorporated with the kingdom of France, and the nursery of that monarchy.

Louis XII. who was at this time a widower, by the death of his wife, Anne of Brittany, could not purchase peace of Henry on any other terms than those of marrying his sister, the princess Mary of England; but, instead of receiving a portion with his wife, which not only princes, but even private

persons are entitled to, Louis was obliged to pay a dowry, and it cost him a million crowns to marry the sister of his conqueror. Thus, after having been ransomed both by the English and the Swiss, duped by Ferdinand, and driven from his conquests in Italy, by the resolution of Pope Julius II. he finished his inglorious career, in 1515.

On account of the few taxes he laid upon his people, he was called their Father, a title he would otherwise have acquired, from the heroes with which France then abounded, had he by exacting the necessary contributions preserved Italy, checked the insolence of the Swiss, properly aided Navarre, and driven back the English.

But if he was unfortunate abroad he was happy at home. No other fault can be laid to this prince's charge but that of selling the posts in the state; and this venality did not extend in his time to the officers of judicature. By this sale of employments he raised, during the seventeen years of his reign, the sum of one million two hundred thousand livres in the single diocese of Paris. But then, on the other hand, the aids and taxes were very moderate. He showed a fatherly affection for his people, by never loading them with heavy burdens; and did not look upon himself as sovereign of France in the same manner as the lord of a fief is of his lands, merely to be furnished with subsistence from them. In his time there were no new impositions; and when Fromentau, in 1580, presented to that extrav-

agant prince, Henry III., a comparative account of the sums exacted during his reign, and those which were paid to Louis XII., there appeared in each article an immense sum to be placed to the account of Henry, and a very moderate one to that of Louis, supposing it to have been an ancient right belonging to the crown; but considered as an extraordinary tax, there remained nothing to be charged to Louis: unhappily for the kingdom this account of what was exacted by Henry, and not paid to Louis, makes a large volume.

The whole of this king's revenue did not exceed thirteen millions of livres; but these thirteen millions are about fifty millions of the present money. Commodities of all kinds were much cheaper than they are at present, and the kingdom was not in debt: it is not, therefore, so very surprising, that with this small revenue in money, and a prudent economy, he could live in splendor, and keep his people in plenty. He took care to have public justice distributed diligently, impartially, and almost without expense. The fees of courts were not then one-fortieth part of what they are now. In the whole bailiwick of Paris there were at that time no more than forty-nine sergeants, or bailiffs, whereas there are at present five hundred. It must be allowed that Paris was not then one-fifth as large as it now is: but the number of the officers of justice has increased in a much greater proportion than the extent of the city; and the evils, inseparable

from all great capitals, have increased much more than the inhabitants.

He preserved the custom of the parliaments of the kingdom, to choose three candidates to fill up a vacant seat; the king nominated one of these, and the dignities in the law were then given only to the counsellors, as a reward for their merit or reputation in their profession. His ever memorable edict of 1499, which should never be forgotten in history, has made his memory dear to every lover and distributor of justice. By this edict he ordained that "The law should always be observed, notwithstanding any orders contrary to law, which a sovereign might be induced to issue through importunity."

The general plan, according to which you here study history, admits of but few details; but particular circumstances, like these upon which the welfare of states depends, and which form so excellent a lesson for princes, become one part of the principal object.

Louis XII. was the first of our kings who protected the industrious laborer from the rapacious violence of the soldier, and punished with death those gendarmes who laid the peasants under contribution. This cost the lives of five or six gendarmes, and the country was at ease: therefore, if he was neither the great hero, nor the profound politician, he at least acquired the more valuable glory of being a good king; and his memory will continue to be blessed by all posterity.

CHAPTER XCIV.

ENGLAND, AND THE TROUBLES IN THAT KINGDOM, AFTER ITS INVASION OF FRANCE — MARGARET OF ANJOU, WIFE OF HENRY VI.

Pope Julius II., who, in the midst of the dissensions which still troubled Italy, continued firm to his design of driving thence all foreigners, had given the see of Rome a temporal power, to which it had hitherto been a stranger. Parma and Placentia were separated from the duchy of Milan, and annexed to the pope's dominions by the consent of the emperor himself; and Julius ended his pontificate and his life with this act, which does honor to his memory. The popes, his successors, have lost this state. The see of Rome was at that time a preponderating temporal power in Italy.

Venice, though engaged in a war with Ferdinand the Catholic, as king of Naples, still continued very powerful, and made head at once against both Mahometans and Christians. Germany was at peace, and England began to grow formidable. We must inquire whence she set out, and whither she arrived.

The malady of Charles VI. had ruined France, and the natural weakness of Henry VI. desolated England.

1422 — In his minority his relatives disputed for the government, like those of Charles VI., and overturned everything to command in his name. As in

Paris a duke of Burgundy caused a duke of Orleans to be assassinated, so in London, the duchess of Gloucester, the king's aunt, was accused of practising sorcery against the life of Henry VI. A wretched woman fortune-teller and a foolish or knavish priest, who pretended to be magicians, were burned alive for this pretended conspiracy; the duchess thought herself happy in being condemned only to do penance in her shift, and to be confined in prison for life. The spirit of philosophy was then very distant from that island, which was the centre of superstition and cruelty.

1444 — Most of the quarrels between sovereigns have ended in marriages. Charles VII. gave Margaret of Anjou to Henry VI. She was daughter of René of Anjou, king of Naples, duke of Lorraine, and count of Maine, who, with all these titles, was without dominions, and could not afford to give the least portion with his daughter. Few princesses were more unhappy in a father and a husband. She was a woman of enterprising disposition and unshaken courage, and, but for one crime she committed — which sullied her virtues — she might have passed for a heroine. She had all the talents of government, and all the virtues of war: but, at the same time, she gave rein to the cruel actions which ambition, war, and faction inspire. In a word, her boldness, and her husband's pusillanimity, were the first causes of the public calamities which befell their kingdom.

1447 — She had a desire to govern, and to this end it was necessary to get rid of the duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, and husband of that duchess who had already fallen a sacrifice to his enemies, and was confined by them in prison. The duke was arrested under pretence of being engaged in a new plot, and the next morning was found dead in his bed. This act of violence rendered both the queen's administration and the king's name odious to the English, who seldom hate without forming conspiracies. There happened to be at that time in England a descendant of Edward III., who was nearer related to the common stock than the family on the throne. This was the duke of York. He bore for the device on his shield a white rose; and Henry VI., who was of the house of Lancaster, bore a red rose. Hence came these two names so famous in the civil war.

1450 — Factions must in their beginnings be protected by a parliament, till this parliament becomes the slave to the conqueror. The duke of York accused the duke of Suffolk before the parliament; this duke was the queen's prime minister and favorite; these two titles had gained him the hatred of the nation. Here follows a strange instance of the effects of party hatred. The court, to content the people, banished this minister from the kingdom, who thereupon embarked on board a ship for France. The captain of a man-of-war met this ship at sea, and inquiring what passengers they had on

board, was answered by the master, that they were carrying the duke of Suffolk over to France. "You shall not carry a person impeached by my country out of the island," replied the captain; and immediately ordered him on board his own ship and struck off his head. Thus did the English act in time of peace. The war which succeeded opened a scene of still greater horrors.

Henry VI. was afflicted with an infirmity which rendered him for some years incapable of thinking or acting. Thus Europe, in the course of this century, beheld three sovereigns, who, from a disorder in their brain, were plunged into the greatest misfortunes: the emperor Wenceslaus, Charles VI. of France, and Henry VI. of England.

1455 — In one of these unhappy years of Henry's insanity, the duke of York and his cabal made themselves masters of the council; the king recovering, as it were, from a long trance, opened his eyes, and beheld himself deprived of all authority. His wife, Margaret of Anjou, exhorted him to be king; but, in order to be so, it was necessary to unsheathe the sword. The duke of York, who was expelled from the council, was already at the head of an army. Henry was carried to fight a battle at St. Alban's, in which he was wounded and taken prisoner; but not then dethroned. The duke of York, his conqueror, carried him in triumph with him to London; and, leaving him the empty title of king, took to

himself that of protector, a title known before to the English.

Henry VI., who had frequent returns of his weakness and disorder, was no other than a prisoner served with the exterior marks of royalty. His wife longed to set him at liberty, that she herself might be free. Her courage was her greatest misfortune; she raised troops by the assistance of the noblemen in her interest, delivered her husband from his confinement in London, and became herself the general of her army. Thus, within a short space of time, the English saw four French women at the head of armies — the wife of the count de Montfort, in Brittany; Edward II.'s queen, in England; the Maid of Orleans, in France; and this Margaret of Anjou.

1460 — The queen herself drew up her army, and fought by her husband in the bloody battle of Northampton. Her great enemy, the duke of York, was not in the opposite army; but his eldest son, the earl of March, served his first apprenticeship to civil war under the earl of Warwick, the most famous man of his time; a genius born for those days of tumult, full of artifice, and still more replete with courage and pride, fit either to direct a campaign, or to lead in the day of battle; fruitful in resources, capable of everything, and formed to give or take away crowns at his pleasure. Warwick's star prevailed again; Margaret of Anjou was defeated, had the grief to behold the king, her husband, taken

prisoner in his tent; and, while that unhappy monarch was calling to her with outstretched arms, she was obliged to ride off full speed with her son, the prince of Wales. Henry was a second time reconducted to his capital by his conquerors, where he remained still a king and a prisoner.

A parliament was now called; and the duke of York, who was before protector, demanded a new title. He claimed the crown as the representative of Edward III., in preference to Henry VI., who was descended of a younger branch of that family. The cause of the real king, and of him who wanted to be such, was solemnly debated in the house of peers; each side gave in their arguments in writing, as is done in a common cause. The duke of York, though the victor, could not carry his cause entirely. It was decided that Henry VI. should keep the crown during his lifetime; and that it should devolve upon the duke of York after his death, to the exclusion of the prince of Wales. But a clause was added to this act, which proved a new declaration of war and tumults; namely, that if the king did anything in violation of the said act, the crown should from that instant go to the duke of York.

Margaret of Anjou, though beaten, a wanderer at a distance from her husband, and having for enemies the victorious duke of York, the city of London, and the parliament, still maintained her courage. She went through the principality of Wales and the neighboring counties, animating her

former friends, endeavoring to make new, and raising another army. It is well known that the armies of those days did not consist of regular troops, kept long in the field, and in the pay of a single chief. Every nobleman brought with him what men he could pick up in haste, who were maintained and paid by plunder; and it was necessary to come to an engagement speedily, or retire. At length the queen, at the head of an army of eighteen thousand men, encountered her grand enemy, the duke of York, in the county of that name, near the castle of Sandal. The fortune of that day answered her courage. The duke of York was defeated, and died of his wounds in the field; and his second son, Rutland, was taken as he was endeavoring to make his escape. The father's head was fixed upon the town walls, together with those of his generals, where they remained a long time, as monuments of his defeat.

Margaret, at length victorious, marched to London to set the king, her husband, at liberty. The earl of Warwick, who was the soul of York's party, was still at the head of an army, carrying with him his king and captive. The queen and Warwick met, in 1461, near St. Alban's, a place famous for the many battles fought there. The queen had again the good fortune to conquer. She now enjoyed the pleasure of seeing the formidable Warwick flying before her, and of restoring to her husband, on the field of battle, his liberty and authority. Never had woman

met with more success, or acquired greater glory; but her triumph was short. She still wanted the city of London on her side, which Warwick had found means to secure so effectually, that when the queen presented herself for admittance, it was refused her, and she had not an army sufficiently strong to force it. The earl of March, eldest son of the duke of York, was in that city, and breathed nothing but revenge: in short, after all her victories, the queen was obliged to retreat. She went into the north of England to strengthen her party, which the name and presence of the king greatly increased.

In the meantime Warwick, who had London at his command, assembled the citizens in a field near the city gates; and showing them the duke of York's son asked them which they would choose for their king, that young prince, or Henry of Lancaster? The general cry served on this occasion instead of an assent of parliament, as there was none sitting at that time. Warwick, however, called together some few of the lords and bishops, who came to a resolution, that Henry of Lancaster had infringed the former act of parliament, by his wife's having taken up arms for him.

The young duke of York, therefore, was proclaimed king, in London, by the name of Edward IV., while his father's head still remained fixed upon the walls of York, as that of a traitor. Henry VI. was now deprived of his crown, who, when in his cradle, was proclaimed king of England and France,

and had swayed the sceptre for thirty-eight years, without having ever been reproached with a crime, but that of imbecility.

His wife, who was then in the north of England, upon receiving this news, hastily assembled an army of sixty thousand men. This was a prodigious effort. This time, however, she hazarded neither her husband's person, her son's nor her own. Warwick led his new-made king with an army of forty thousand men to give the queen battle. They met at Towton, near the river Aire, on the borders of Yorkshire, when there was fought the most bloody battle that had ever contributed to depopulate England. The writers of those times tell us, that there fell no less than thirty-six thousand on that day. Warwick gained a complete victory, by which young Edward was established on the throne, and Margaret of Anjou was left the outcast of fortune. After the defeat she fled into Scotland with her husband and son, leaving Edward at full liberty to act as he pleased, who immediately took his father's head, and those of his followers down from the city walls, placing in their room those of his enemy's generals whom he had taken prisoners. England thus became a vast theatre of blood and human slaughter; and scaffolds were raised in every part of the field of battle.

CHAPTER XCV.

EDWARD IV., MARGARET OF ANJOU, AND THE MURDER OF HENRY VI.

THE intrepid Margaret still preserved her courage. Finding herself deceived in the aid she expected from Scotland, she crossed over to France, through the midst of the enemy's ships, which almost covered the sea, and applied for assistance to Louis XI. who had just begun his reign. Through a mistaken policy, he refused to grant her request; but even this did not daunt her: she borrowed money and some ships, and at length obtained five hundred men, with which she re-embarked, and in her return to England met with a violent storm, which separated the vessel she was in from the rest of her small fleet. At length, however, she landed in England, where she gathered together an army, and once more dared the fortune of war. She was no longer so careful of her own person, nor of those of her husband and son. She risked another battle at Hexham, in 1462, which she lost as she had done so many others. After this defeat she remained wholly without resource; the king, her husband, fled one way, and she with her son another, without servants or assistance, and exposed to every kind of accident and ill treatment. Henry fell into the hands of his enemies, who conducted him to London in an ignominious manner, and confined him in the Tower.

Margaret had the good fortune to escape into France with her son, and took refuge with her father René of Anjou, who could do nothing more than lament her misfortunes.

Young Edward IV., who had been placed on the English throne by the arms of Warwick, being now rid of all his enemies, and in possession of Henry's person, reigned in full security. But no sooner was he freed from his troubles, than he became ungrateful; Warwick, who was a father to him, was at that time in France, negotiating a marriage between his prince and the Lady Bona of Savoy, sister of Louis's queen. While this treaty was concluding, Edward happened to see Elizabeth Woodville, the widow of Sir John Gray, with whom he fell violently in love, and was privately married to her; after which he caused her to be proclaimed queen, in 1465, without once informing Warwick of any part of these transactions. After this glaring affront, he entirely neglected him, removed him from his councils, and by this treatment made him his irreconcilable enemy. Warwick, who had cunning equal to his courage, soon employed both in working his revenge. He brought over the duke of Clarence, the king's brother, to his party, raised the kingdom of England in arms; and instead of the contentions of the white and red roses, the civil war was carried on between the king and his incensed subject. On this occasion battles, truces, negotiations, and treasons followed one another in rapid succession. War-

wick at length prevailed, and drove the king he had made from the throne; after which, in 1470, he went to the Tower, and released Henry, whom he had before dethroned, and once more placed the crown on his head. This procured him the title of "king-maker." The parliaments of those times were only the instruments of the will of the strongest: Warwick assembled one, which reinstated Henry VI. in all his rights, and declared Edward IV. a usurper and a traitor, on whom it had but a few years before bestowed the crown. This long and bloody tragedy did not end here: Edward IV., who had fled to Holland, had a number of friends in England; accordingly he returned, seven months after his banishment, when the gates of London were opened to him by his party; and Henry, ever the sport of fortune, was hardly seated on his throne when he was sent again to the Tower. Margaret of Anjou, his queen, who was always ready to avenge his cause, and always fruitful in resources, came over to England at this time, with her son, the prince of Wales; and the first news she heard at her landing was the fresh misfortune which had befallen her royal consort. But Warwick, who had been so long his persecutor, was now his defender, and headed an army in his behalf against Edward, whom he marched to meet. This was some consolation to the unhappy queen; but a very short time after she had heard of the imprisonment of her husband, a second courier brought her the news that

Warwick was slain in battle, and that Edward remained conqueror.

It is amazing that a woman, after such a series of misfortunes, could still have the courage to brave fortune: but this very courage furnished her with resources and friends. Whoever headed a faction in England in those days was sure to see it strengthened in length of time, by the hatred which generally prevails against the court and ministry. This partly helped to raise another army for Margaret, after all her various changes of fortune and defeats. There was hardly a county in England in which she had not fought a battle; Tewkesbury, near the banks of the Severn, was witness to her last, in 1471; here she headed her troops in person, and went from rank to rank, showing the soldiers the young prince of Wales, whom she led by the hand. The fight was obstinate, but at length victory declared for Edward. The queen, losing sight of her son during the hurry of the defeat, and having in vain inquired for him, fell, deprived of all sense and motion, and recovered only to see her son taken prisoner, and her conqueror, Edward, standing before her. Her son was then taken from her, and she was carried prisoner to London, and confined in the Tower with her husband. While they were carrying off the queen, Edward, turning to the prince of Wales, asked him how he came to have the boldness to enter his dominions? To which the young prince replied: "I am come into my father's kingdom to avenge

his cause, and rescue my inheritance out of your hands." Edward, incensed at the freedom of this reply, struck him over the face with his gauntlet, and historians tell us, that immediately Edward's two brothers, the duke of Clarence, whom he had lately restored to his favor, and the duke of Gloucester, with some of their followers, fell upon the young prince like so many wild beasts, and hewed him to death with their swords on the field of battle. If such are the manners of the chiefs of the people, what must be those of the commonalty? They put all their prisoners to death, and at length determined to murder Henry himself. The respect which, even in those times of brutality and cruelty, had for upwards of forty years been paid to the virtues of this monarch, had hitherto stopped the hands of assassination; but after the inhuman murder of the prince of Wales, very little regard was shown to the king; and the duke of Gloucester, who had before dipped his hands in the son's blood, now went to the Tower, and put an end to the wretched father's life.

Queen Margaret's life was spared, because they were in hopes that the French court would purchase her liberty; and accordingly, about four years afterward, when Edward, after being settled in quiet possession of the throne, went to Calais with the intention of making war upon France, and Louis XI., by a sum of money and a shameful treaty, prevailed on him to return, this heroine was

redeemed for fifty thousand crowns. This was a considerable sum to the English at that time, impoverished by their wars with France, and their troubles at home.

Margaret of Anjou, after having fought twelve battles in support of the rights of her husband and son, died in 1482, the most wretched queen, wife, sister, and mother in Europe; and, but for the murder of her husband's uncle, the most respectable.

CHAPTER XCVI.

SEQUEL OF THE TROUBLES OF ENGLAND DURING THE REIGNS OF EDWARD IV., THE TYRANT RICHARD III., AND TO THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII.

Edward IV. now reigned peaceably. The house of York was fully triumphant, and its power was cemented by the blood of almost all the princes of the Lancastrian family. Whoever considers the behavior of Edward will look upon him as no other than a barbarian, wholly devoted to revenge; and yet he was a man given up to pleasure, and as busied in the intrigues of women as in those of the state. He did not stand in need of the title of king to please; he was formed by nature one of the handsomest men of his time, and the most amorous; and, by an astonishing contrast, she had, with the tenderest sensibility, given him the most bloodthirsty

and cruel disposition. He condemned his brother Clarence to lose his life upon the most frivolous suspicion, and only granted him the favor of choosing the manner of his death. Clarence desired to be drowned in a butt of wine. What reason can be given for so unaccountable a choice?

He knew the surest way to please the nation was to make war with France. We have already seen that in 1475 Edward crossed the sea, and that Louis XI., by a shameful policy purchased the retreat of a prince not so powerful as himself nor so well settled on his throne. To purchase peace of an enemy is to furnish him with the means to make war; accordingly in 1483 Edward proposed to his parliament a fresh invasion of France, and never was proposal received with more universal joy; but while he was making preparations for this great undertaking, he died, in 1483, in the forty-second year of his age.

As he was of a very robust constitution, his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, was suspected of having shortened his days by poison. The public suspicion was neither rash nor ill-founded; Gloucester was a monster, born with a disposition to commit the deepest and most deliberate crimes.

Edward IV. at his death left two sons: the eldest of these was thirteen years of age, and succeeded his father, by the name of Edward V. Gloucester formed the design of taking these two children from their mother, in order to put them to death

and seize the crown for himself, and spared no kind of dissimulation, artifice, and oaths, to secure their persons, which he no sooner accomplished than he lodged them both in the Tower, that they might, as he pretended, be in greater safety. But he met with an unexpected obstacle in putting this double assassination in execution. He had caused Lord Hastings, a nobleman of a violent character, but firmly attached to the person of the young king, to be sounded by his emissaries: this lord had given plain intimations of his horror at being concerned in any such crime. Gloucester then, finding his secret in such dangerous hands, did not hesitate an instant in the part he was to act. The council of state, of which Hastings was a member, sat in the Tower; thither came Gloucester, attended by a band of armed followers, and addressing himself to Lord Hastings, told him that he arrested him for high crimes. "Who! me, my lord?" replied the accused nobleman. "Yes, thee, traitor," answered Gloucester; and immediately, in presence of the council, ordered him to be beheaded.

Having thus rid himself of one who was privy to his secret, he, despising the forms of law with which the English always covered over their most wicked attempts, gathered together a rabble from the dregs of the people, who, assembling in the Guildhall of the city, cried out that they would have Richard of Gloucester for their king; and the mayor of London went the next day, at the head of

this mob, and made him an offer of the crown, which he accepted, and was crowned without calling a parliament, or offering the least show of reason for such a procedure. He only caused a rumor to be spread that his brother, Edward IV., had been born in adultery, and made no scruple of thus dishonoring the memory of his mother. Indeed it was hardly possible to think that the same person should be father of Edward IV. and Gloucester. The first was remarkably handsome, and the other deformed in all parts of his body, with an aspect as hideous as his soul was villainous.

Thus he founded his sole right to the crown on his mother's infamy; and in declaring himself legitimate, made his nephews the issue of a bastard. Immediately after his coronation, in 1483, he sent one Tyrrel to strangle the young king and his brother in the Tower. This was known to the nation, who only murmured in secret; so much do men change with the times. Gloucester, under the name of Richard III., remained two years and a half in quiet enjoyment of the fruits of one of the most atrocious crimes that the English had ever seen perpetrated amongst themselves, though used to many.

During this short enjoyment of the royal authority, he called a parliament, to which he had the audaciousness to submit his claim to be examined. There are times in which the people are dastardly, in proportion as their rulers are cruel; this parliament declared the mother of Richard III. an adul-

teress; and that neither the late Edward IV. nor his brothers, Richard only excepted, were born in lawful wedlock; and therefore that the crown of right belonged to him, in preference to the two young princes who had been strangled in the Tower, concerning whose deaths, however, they came to no explanation. Parliaments have sometimes committed more cruel actions, but never any one so infamous. So vile a condescension requires whole ages of virtuous conduct to make amends for it.

At length, after two years and a half had elapsed, there arose an avenger of these crimes in the person of Henry, earl of Richmond, who was the only remaining branch of the many princes of the house of Lancaster, that had fallen sacrifices to the ambition of the York faction, and who had taken refuge in Brittany. This young prince was not a descendant of Henry VI., but derived, like him, his pedigree from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son of the great Edward III., though by the female side, and from a very doubtful marriage of this John of Gaunt. His right to the crown was also still more doubtful; but the general detestation in which Richard III. was held, on account of his crimes, fortified his claim, and added strength to his party. He was as yet very young when he conceived the design of avenging the deaths of so many princes of the house of Lancaster, by punishing Richard, and reducing England to his obedience. His first attempt proved unsuccessful, and,

after having been witness to the defeat of his party, he was obliged to return to Brittany and sue for an asylum. Richard treated in secret with the minister of Francis II., duke of Brittany, father of Anne of Brittany, who was married to Charles VIII. and Louis XII. This prince himself was not capable of doing a base action; but his minister, Landois, was, and promised to deliver the earl of Richmond into the tyrant's hands. The young prince, coming to the knowledge of this, fled out of Brittany in disguise, and got into the territories of Anjou only an hour before those who were sent to seize him.

It was to the interest of Charles VIII., at that time king of France, to protect Richmond. The grandson of Charles VII. had been wanting in the principal point of politics, by suffering the English to remain unmolested when it was in his power to distress them; and on this occasion Charles VIII. furnished Richmond with only two thousand men. These would have been sufficient had Richmond's party been considerable: this however was the case soon after, and Richard himself, as soon as he heard that his rival was landed only with those small numbers, rightly judged that he would not be long without an army. The whole country of Wales, of which this prince was a native, took up arms in his favor, and a battle was at length fought between Richard and the earl, in 1415, at Bosworth, near Leicester. Richard wore the crown on his head during the engagement, thinking to animate his

men by showing them that they fought for their lawful king against a rebel. But Lord Stanley, one of the tyrant's generals, who had long beheld with horror the crown usurped by such a monster, betrayed a person so unworthy to be his sovereign, and went over to the earl with the corps he commanded. Richard was possessed of courage, and that was his only virtue. When he saw the day become desperate, he furiously threw himself into the midst of his enemies, where he received a death too glorious for his deserts. His naked and mangled body was found buried under a heap of slain, and being thrown across a horse, was carried in that manner to the city of Leicester, where it remained two days exposed to the view of the populace, who, calling to mind his many cruelties and crimes, showed no signs of sorrow for his fate. Stanley, who had taken the crown from his head after he had fallen in the field, carried it to Henry of Richmond.

The victors sang *"Te Deum"* on the field of battle. When it was over, the whole army, as inspired with one voice, cried out, " Long live Henry of Richmond, our king." Thus did the fortune of this single day put a happy end to the desolations with which the factions of the white and red roses had filled England; and the throne, which had been so often stained with blood and undergone such frequent changes, was at length settled in peace and security. The misfortunes which had followed the

family of Edward III. were now at an end; and Henry VII., by marrying a daughter of Edward IV., united the rights of the two houses of York and Lancaster in his own person.

As he had known how to conquer, so he knew how to govern; and his reign, which lasted for twenty-four years, during which time he was almost constantly at peace, somewhat humanized the manners of the nation. The parliaments which he frequently called, and with whom he always kept fair, enacted wise laws; justice once more resumed all her functions, and trade, which had begun first to flourish under the great Edward III., and which had been almost entirely ruined during the civil wars, was again revived. Of this the nation stood greatly in need. We may judge of its poverty by the extreme difficulty which Henry VII. found in raising a loan of two thousand pounds sterling from the city of London, a sum which did not amount to fifty thousand livres of our present money. Henry was, through inclination and necessity, avaricious. Had he been only saving he would have showed his prudence; but the sordidness of his disposition, and his rapacious exactions have tarnished the glory of his reign. He kept a private register of what he gained by the confiscations of estates; in short, no king was ever guilty of more meanness. At his death there were found in his coffers two millions of pounds sterling, an immense sum for those times, which might have been much more usefully

employed in public circulation than in lying buried in a prince's treasury; but in a country where the people were more inclined to raise seditions than to give money to their kings, it was necessary for a prince to have a treasure always at hand.

Two adventures, each extraordinary in its kind, rather disquieted than troubled his reign. A journeyman baker, who called himself the nephew of Edward IV., disputed the crown with him. This person, who had been trained up in his part by a priest, was crowned king at Dublin, the capital of Ireland, and ventured to give Henry battle near Nottingham, in 1487; who, having defeated him and taken him prisoner, thought to humble the revolters sufficiently by making their sham king one of the scullions in his kitchen, in which post he continued for many years.

Daring enterprises, though attended with ill success, frequently encourage others to imitate them, who, stirred up by the glory of the example, go on in hopes of meeting with better success: witness the six false Demetriuses, who rose, one after another, in Muscovy, and many other impostors. This journeyman baker was followed by the son of a Jew broker of Antwerp, who appeared in a more exalted character.

This young Jew, whose name was Perkin, pretended to be the son of Edward IV. The French king, who was always attentive to cherish the seeds of sedition among the English, received this pre-

tender at his court, acknowledged his assumed title, and gave him all encouragement: but having soon after reasons to keep fair with Henry, he left the impostor to shift for himself.

The old duchess dowager of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV. and widow of Charles the Bold, who first put this spring in play, now received Perkin as her nephew. The young Jew enjoyed the fruits of his imposture much longer than his predecessor, the baker; a majestic air, a finished breeding, and great personal courage, seemed to make him worthy of the rank he assumed. He married a princess of the house of York, who still continued to love him, even after the discovery of the cheat. He maintained his claim by arms for five years, found means to raise the Scotch in his favor, and met with unexpected resources even in the midst of his defeats. But being at length abandoned by his party, and delivered up to the king, Henry had the clemency to condemn him only to perpetual imprisonment, from which in attempting to make his escape, he was seized, and paid for his rashness with his life.

And now the spirit of faction being entirely quelled among the English, that people, no longer formidable to their prince, began to be so to their neighbors, particularly at the accession of Henry VIII. to the throne, who, by the extreme parsimony of his father, was in possession of immense riches, and, by the prudence of the administration, the

absolute master of a warlike people, who were at the same time in as much subjection as the English are capable of being.

CHAPTER XCVII.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE beginning of the sixteenth century, upon which we are already entered, presents us at one view with the noblest prospects that the universe ever furnished. If we cast our eyes on the princes who reigned at that time in Europe, we shall find that either by their reputation, their conduct, or the great changes of which they were the causes, they made their names immortal. At Constantinople we see a Selim reducing under the Ottoman dominion all Syria and Egypt, of which the Mahometan Mamelukes had been in possession ever since the thirteenth century: after him appears his son, the great Solyman, the first of the Turkish emperors who carried his standards to the walls of Vienna: he also caused himself to be crowned king of Persia in the city of Bagdad, which he subdued by his arms, and thus made Europe and Asia tremble at one time.

At the same time we behold in the North, Gustavus Vasa rescuing Sweden from a foreign yoke, and chosen king of the country of which he was the deliverer.

In Muscovy, John Basilowitz delivers his country

from the Tartars, to whom it was tributary. This prince was indeed himself a barbarian, and the chief of a people yet more barbarous; but the avenger of his country merits to be ranked in the number of great princes.

In Spain, Germany, and Italy, we see Charles V., the sovereign of all those states, supporting the weight of the government of Europe, always in action, and always negotiating, for a long time equally fortunate in politics and war, the only powerful emperor since Charlemagne, and the first king of all Spain since the conquest of that country by the Moors; opposing a barrier to the Ottoman Empire, making kings, and at length divesting himself of all his crowns, retiring from the world, and ending his life in solitude, after having been the disturber of all Europe.

Next stands forth his rival in glory and politics, Francis I., king of France, who, though less powerful and fortunate, but of a more brave and amiable disposition, divides with Charles V. the admiration and esteem of all nations. Glorious even in the midst of his defeats, he renders his kingdom flourishing, notwithstanding his misfortunes, and transplants the liberal arts into France from Italy, where they were then in the height of perfection.

Henry VIII., king of England, though too cruel and capricious to be admitted among the rank of heroes, has still a place among these kings, both on account of the change he wrought in the spirit

of his people, and by having taught England how to hold the balance of power between sovereigns. This prince took for his device a warrior bending his bow, with these words: "Whom I defend is victorious" — a device which his nation has at certain times verified.

Pope Leo X. is a name justly famous for the noble genius and amiable manners of him who bore it, for the great masters in the arts which have immortalized the age he lived in, and for the great change which divided the Church during his pontificate.

In the beginning of this same century we find religion, and the pretext of reforming the received law, those two grand instruments of ambition, producing the same effects on the borders of Africa and in Germany, and among the Turks and the Christians. A new government and a new race of kings were established in the vast empire of Fez and Morocco, which extends as far as the deserts of Nigritia. Thus Asia, Africa, and Europe underwent at one and the same time a change of religions; for the Persians were separated forever from the Turks, and while they ackowledged the same god and the same prophet, confirmed the schism of Omar and Ali. Immediately afterward the Christians became divided among themselves, and wrested one-half of Europe from the Roman pontiff.

The old world was shaken, and the new one discovered and conquered by Charles V., and a trade

CHARLES V. AND PIZARRO

opened between the East Indies and Europe by the ships and arms of the Portuguese.

We behold on one side the powerful empire of Mexico subdued by Cortes, and the Pizarros making the conquest of Peru with fewer soldiers than is necessary to lay siege to a small town in Europe; and on the other, Albuquerque, with a force very little superior, fixing the empire and trade of the Portuguese in the Indies, in spite of all the opposition of the kings of that country, and the efforts of the Moors, who were in possession of its trade.

Nature at this time produced extraordinary men in almost all branches, especially in Italy.

Another striking object in this illustrious age is, that, notwithstanding the wars which ambition raised, and the religious quarrels which began to disturb several states, the same genius which made the polite arts flourish at Rome, Naples, Florence, Venice, and Ferrara, and which thence diffused its light throughout Europe, quickly softened the manners of mankind in almost all the provinces of Christendom. The gallantry of the French court in the reign of Francis I. operated partly toward this great change; there was a continual emulation between this prince and Charles V. for glory, the spirit of chivalry and courtesy, even in the midst of their most furious dissensions; and this emulation, which communicated itself to all their courtiers, gave this age an air of grandeur and politeness unknown before.

Opulence had also a share in this change; and this opulence, which became more general, was, by a strange revolution, partly the consequence of the fatal loss of Constantinople; for soon afterward all the trade of the Turks was carried on by the Christians, who sold them even the spices of the Indies, which they took in at Alexandria, and carried in their ships to all the ports of the Levant.

Industry was everywhere encouraged. The city of Marseilles carried on a great trade. Lyons abounded in fine manufactures. The towns of the Low Countries were still more flourishing than when they were under the house of Burgundy. The ladies, who were invited to the court of France, made it the centre of magnificence and politeness. The manners of the court of London were indeed more rude, by reason of the capricious and rough disposition of its king, but that city already began to grow rich by trade.

In Germany the cities of Augsburg and Nuremberg, which dispersed through that empire the riches they drew from Venice, began already to feel the good effects of their correspondence with the Italians. In the former of these cities there were a number of beautiful houses adorned on the outsides with paintings in fresco, after the Venetian manner. In a word, Europe saw halcyon days appear; but they were troubled by the storms which the rivalship between Charles V. and Francis I. excited, and the disputes which now began to arise about religion

sullied the end of this century, and even rendered it terrible, by giving it a certain cast of barbarism, scarcely known to the Huns and Heruli.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

EUROPE IN THE TIME OF CHARLES V. OF MUSCOVY, OR RUSSIA—A DIGRESSION CONCERNING LAPLAND.

Before I take a view of the state of Europe under Charles V., it will be necessary to form to myself a sketch of the different governments into which it was divided. I have already shown the state of Spain, France, Germany, Italy, and England. I shall not speak of Turkey, and the conquests of the Ottomans in Syria and Africa till I have first examined all the wonderful and fatal events which happened among the Christians; and have followed the Portuguese in the several voyages they made to Asia, and the military trade they carried on in that country, and have taken a view of the eastern world.

I shall begin at present with the Christian kingdoms of the North. The Russian or Muscovite state began at this time to put on some form. This state, which is so powerful, and is every day becoming more so, was for a long time only a tribe of half-Christian savages, slaves to the Kazan-Tartars, the descendants of Tamerlane.

The duke of Russia paid a yearly tribute in money, skins, and cattle to these Tartars, which he himself carried on foot to the Tartarian ambassador,

appointed to receive them, prostrating himself at his feet, and presenting him with milk to drink; and if any part of it fell upon the neck of the ambassador's horse, the duke was obliged to lick it off. The Russians were on the one hand slaves to the Tartars; and, on the the other, pressed by the people of Lithuania: and, on the side of the Ukraine again, they were exposed to the depredations of the Crim-Tartars, descendants from the ancient Scythians of Taurica Chersonesus, to whom they also paid a tribute. At length there arose a chief, named John Basilides, or the son of Basil, who, being a person of great courage, animated his dastardly Russians, and freed himself from so servile a yoke; adding, at the same time, to his dominions, Novgorod and the city of Moscow, which he took from the Lithuanians toward the end of the fifteenth century. He extended his conquests as far as Finland, which country has frequently been the subject of ruptures between Russia and Sweden.

Russia, then, appears to have been at that time a large monarchy, though not as yet formidable to Europe. It is said that John Basilides brought back with him from Moscow three hundred wagons loaded with gold, silver, and precious stones. The history of these dark times is wholly composed of fables. Neither the inhabitants of Moscow, nor the Tartars, had at that time any money but what they had plundered from others; and as they had so long been a prey to the Tartars, what great riches could

be found among them? They were acquainted with little more than the mere necessaries of life.

The country about Moscow produces good corn, which is sown in May and reaped in September. The earth bears some few fruits: honey is as plenty there as in Poland, and they have large and small cattle in abundance; but the wool being unfit for manufacturing, and the people in themselves rude and void of industry, the only clothing used amongst them was the skins of beasts. There was not one house in the city of Moscow built of stone. The little wooden huts they lived in were made of the trunks of trees, covered with moss. As to their manners, they lived like brutes, having a confused idea of the religion of the Greek Church, of which they thought themselves members. When they died, the priest who buried them put into the hand of the dead person a note addressed to St. Peter and St. Nicholas. This was their principal act of religion; but in almost all the villages to the northeast of Moscow, the inhabitants were in general idolaters.

The czars who succeeded John Basilides were possessed of riches, especially after another John Basilowitz had, in 1551, taken Cazan and Astrakhan from the Tartars: but the Russians themselves were always poor; for as these absolute sovereigns had almost all the trade of their empire in their own hands, and raised contributions from those who had gained a small competency, they quickly filled their

own coffers, and even displayed an Asiatic pomp and luxury on their festivals and solemn days. They traded to Constantinople, by the way of the Black Sea; and with Poland by Novgorod. They had it therefore in their power to civilize their subjects; but the time was not yet come. All the northern part of their empire beyond Moscow consisted in vast wilds, and some few settlements of savages. They were even ignorant that there was such a large country as Siberia. A Cossack first discovered and conquered it in the reign of this John Basilowitz, in the same manner as Cortes conquered Mexico, with a few firearms only.

The czars had very little share in the affairs of Europe, except in some wars with the Swedes on account of Finland. None of the inhabitants ever stirred out of the country, nor engaged in any maritime trade. The very port of Archangel was at that time as much unknown as those of America, and was not discovered till the year 1553, by the English, who were in search of new countries in the North, after the example of the Spaniards and Portuguese, who had made several new settlements in the South, the East, and the West. It was necessary to pass the North Cape, at the extremity of Lapland. It was known by experience that there was a country where, during five months of the year, the sun never rose above the horizon. In this attempt the crews of two ships perished with cold and other disorders on this coast. A third ship,

commanded by one Chancellor, anchored in the port of Archangel, in the river Dwina, the borders of which were inhabited only by savages. Chancellor sailed up the Dwina to Moscow. The English after this were almost the only masters of the trade of Muscovy, and gained great riches by the furs they brought from there; and this was another branch of trade taken from the Venetians. This republic had formerly had markets, and even a town, on the borders of the Tanais, and afterward carried on a trade for furs with Constantinople. Whoever reads history with any advantage, will see that there have been as many revolutions in trade as in states.

It was very improbable at that time that a prince of Russia should one day found, in the marshes at the bottom of the Gulf of Finland, a capital, in whose port there arrives every year nearly two hundred and fifty foreign ships, and which has sent forth armies to fix a king on the the throne of Poland, assist the German Empire against France, become masters of Crimea, and divest Sweden of part of its territories.

About this time Lapland began to be more particularly known, to which even the Swedes, the Danes, and the Russians had hitherto been in a manner strangers. This vast country, which borders on the north pole, had been described by Strabo, under the name of the country of the Troglodytes, and Northern Pygmies. We have learnt that the race of Pygmies were not fictitious beings.

It is probable that the Northern Pygmies have become extinct, or have been all destroyed by the neighboring nations. Several kinds of men have disappeared from the face of the earth, as well as several kinds of animals.

The Laplanders do not appear in the least to resemble their neighbors; for example, the men of Norway are large and well made: whereas, Lapland produces no men taller than three cubits; their eyes, ears, and noses, again, are different from those of all the other people who surround them. They seem to be a species formed purposely for the climate they inhabit, which they themselves are delighted with, and which none but themselves can like. Nature seems to have produced the Laplanders, as she has done the reindeer, peculiarly for that country: and as these animals are found nowhere else in the world, so neither do the people appear to have come from any other part. It is not probable that the inhabitants of countries less savage would have passed over the most frightful deserts, covered with perpetual snows, to transplant themselves into so barren a part of the globe. One family may have been cast by a tempest upon a desert island, and have peopled this island; but no number of people would quit their habitations on the continent, where they were provided with some kind of nourishment, to settle themselves in a remote part, amidst rocks covered with moss, and where they could meet with no other subsistence than fish

and the milk of reindeers: besides, supposing people from Norway or Sweden to have transplanted themselves into Lapland, could they possibly have become so entirely changed in figure? How happens it that the Icelanders, who dwell as far northward as the Laplanders, are so tall in stature, and the Laplanders, on the contrary, not only very short, but of a quite different form? These were, therefore, a new species of men who made their appearance to us at the same time that America and Asia presented us with others. The sphere of nature now became enlarged to us on all sides; and it is on this consideration alone that Lapland merits our attention.

I shall not take any notice of Iceland, which was the Thule of the ancients; nor of Greenland, nor yet of all those countries bordering on the pole, whither the hopes of discovering a passage into America have carried our navigators. The knowledge of these countries is as barren as the countries themselves, and does not enter into the political plan of the world.

POLAND.

Poland, which for a long time retained the manners of the Sarmatians, its first inhabitants, began to be of some consideration in Germany after the Jagellonian race came to the throne; and was no longer the same country which was wont to receive its kings at the emperor's will, and pay him tribute.

The first of the Jagellon family was chosen king of this republic in the year 1382. He was duke of Lithuania, and was an idolater, as well as the rest of his countrymen, and a great part of the palatinate. He was made king upon a promise of becoming Christian, and incorporating Lithuania with Poland.

This Jagellon, who took the name of Ladislaus, was father of the unfortunate Ladislaus who was king of Hungary and Poland, and formed to be one of the most powerful monarchs in the world, had he not unfortunately been defeated and slain in 1445, at the battle of Varna, which, at the instigation of Cardinal Julian, he fought against the Turks, in defiance of his faith solemnly plighted.

The Turks and the monkish knights of the Teutonic Order were a long time the two great enemies of Poland. The latter, who had formed themselves into a crusade, not being able to succeed in their attempts against the Mahometans, fell upon the idolatrous and the Christian inhabitants of Prussia, which was then a province belonging to the Poles.

During the reign of Casimir, in the fifteenth century, the Teutonic Knights waged a long war with Poland; and at length divided Prussia with this state, on condition that the grand master of their order should be a vassal of this kingdom, and, at the same time, a prince palatine and have a seat in the diet.

At this time the palatines had votes only in the

estates of the kingdom; but Casimir summoned deputies from the body of the nobility, in the year 1640, who have ever since maintained this privilege.

The nobles then had another privilege in common with that of the palatines, which was that of not being subject to arrest for any crime before they were juridically convicted: this was a kind of right of impunity. They had besides the right of life and death over their peasants, whom they might put to death with impunity, provided they threw the value of ten crowns into the grave: and if a Polish nobleman killed a peasant belonging to another nobleman, he was by the laws of honor obliged to give him another in his room; and, to the disgrace of human nature, this horrid privilege still subsists.

Sigismund, who was of the Jagellonian race, and died in 1548, was contemporary with Charles V., and was esteemed a great prince. During his reign the Poles had several wars with the Muscovites, and with the Teutonic Knights, while Albert of Brandenburg was their grand master. But war was all the Poles knew, without being acquainted with the military art; which was first carried to perfection in the southern parts of Europe. They fought in a confused and disorderly manner; they had no fortified places; and their chief strength consisted, as it still does, in their cavalry.

They wholly neglected trade; nor did they discover, till the thirteenth century, the salt pits of Cracow, which now constitute the chief wealth of

the country. The corn and salt trade was left to Jews, and other foreigners, who grew rich by the proud indolence of the nobles and the slavery of the people. There were at that time in Poland no less than two hundred Jewish synagogues.

If we consider the government of this country, it will appear, in some respects, an image of the ancient government of the Franks, Muscovites, and Huns; and, in others, somewhat to resemble that of the ancient Romans, inasmuch as the nobles, like the tribunes of the Roman people, could oppose the passing of any law in the senate by simply pronouncing the word "*Veto*." This power, which extended even to all the gentlemen, and was carried so far as to give a right of annulling, by a single vote, all the other votes of the republic, has now become a kind of right of anarchy. The tribune was the magistrate of the people of Rome; whereas a gentleman in Poland is only a member and a subject of the state, and this member has the peculiar privilege of disturbing the whole body; but so dear is this privilege to self-love, that, if anyone should attempt to propose in the diet an abolition of this custom, he would be certain of being torn in pieces.

In Poland, as well as in Sweden, in Denmark, and throughout the whole North, the only distinguishing title was that of "noble." The dignities of duke and count are of a later date, and are derived from the Germans; but these titles confer no power. The nobles are all upon an equality. The

palatines, who deprived the people of their liberty, were wholly employed in defending their own against their kings; and, notwithstanding the Jagellon family were so long in possession of the throne, its princes were never either absolute in their royalty, nor even kings by right of birth, but were always chosen as chiefs of the state, and not as masters. In the oath taken by these kings, at their coronation, they expressly desired the nation to dethrone them if they did not observe those laws they had sworn to maintain.

It was no easy matter to preserve the right of election always free, and still continue the same family on the throne: but the kings having no strongholds in their possession, nor the management of the public treasury, nor the army, could not make any attack upon the liberties of the nation. The state allowed the king a yearly revenue of about twelve hundred thousand livres of our money for the support of his dignity, which is more than the king of Sweden has to this day; the emperor has no allowance, but is obliged to support, at his own expense, the dignity of Head of the Christian World, *Caput Orbis Christiani;* while the islands of Great Britain give their king nearly twenty-three millions for his civil list. The sale of the kingly office is now in Poland one of the principal sources of the money which circulates in that kingdom. The capitation tax levied on the Jews, which is one of its largest revenues, does not amount to

above one hundred and twenty thousand florins of the coin of the country.

With regard to the laws, the Poles had no written code in their own language, till the year 1552. The nobles, who were always of equal rank with each other, were governed by the resolutions taken in their assemblies, which is at present the only real law among them; and the rest of the nation are guided only by these resolutions. As these nobles are the only possessors of lands, they are masters of all the rest of the people, and the husbandmen are no other than their slaves: they are also in possession of all the church benefices. It is the same in Germany; but this is an express and general law in Poland; whereas, in Germany, it is only an established custom; indeed, a custom greatly repugnant to Christianity, though agreeable to the spirit of the Germanic constitution. Rome, in all its different forms of government, from the times of its kings and consuls to the papal monarchy, has always enjoyed this advantage, that the door to honors and dignities was always open to pure merit.

SWEDEN AND DENMARK.

The kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway were, like that of Poland, elective. The peasants and artificers were slaves in Norway and Denmark; but in Sweden they had a seat in the diets of the state, and gave their vote in the imposition of taxes.

Never did two neighboring nations entertain a more violent antipathy to each other than the Swedes and Danes; and yet these rival people formed only one state in the famous Union of Calmar, at the end of the fourteenth century.

One of the Swedish kings, named Albert, having attempted to appropriate a third of the farms in the kingdom to his own use, his subjects revolted against him. Margaret of Waldemar, queen of Denmark, who was called the Semiramis of the North, took advantage of these troubles, and got herself acknowledged queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, in the year 1395. Two years afterward she united these two kingdoms, which ought always to have continued under the dominion of one single sovereign.

When we recollect that formerly the Danish pirates alone carried their victorious arms throughout the greater part of Europe, and conquered England and Normandy, and afterward see that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, though united, were not a formidable power to their neighbors, we may evidently conclude that conquests are only to be made among an ill-governed people. The Hanse towns of Hamburg, Lübeck, Dantzic, Rostock, Lüneburg, and Wismar alone were able to resist the power of these three kingdoms, on account of their superior riches; and the single city of Lübeck carried on a war against the successors of Margaret of Waldemar. This union of the three kingdoms,

which appeared so fair at first sight, proved in the end the source of all their misfortunes.

There was in Sweden a primate who was archbishop of Upsala, and six bishops who had almost the same authority in that country which most of the great ecclesiastics had acquired in Germany and other nations, especially the archbishop of Upsala, who was, like the primate of Poland, the second person in the kingdom. Whosoever is the second person in a state is always desirous of being the first.

It happened in the year 1452 that the estates of Sweden, tired of the Danish yoke, chose with one consent the grand marshal, Charles Canutson, for their king, and being equally weary of the power of the bishops, they ordered a perquisition to be made into the estates which the Church had engrossed under favor of these troubles. The archbishop of Upsala, named John de Salstad, assisted by the six bishops of Sweden and the rest of the clergy, excommunicated the king and the senate at high mass, laid his ornaments upon the altar, and putting on a coat of mail, and taking a sword in his hand, quitted the church, and began a civil war, which the bishops afterward continued for seven years. After this there was nothing but the most bloody anarchy, and a perpetual war between the Swedes, who wanted an independent king, and the Danes; the latter of which almost always gained the mastery. The clergy, who were at one time in arms for their country, and at another against it, recipro-

cally excommunicated, fought with, and plundered one another.

At length the Danes, having gained the mastery, under the command of their king, John, son of Christian I., and the Swedes being subdued, and having afterward revolted again, this King John caused his senate in Denmark to publish an arret against that of Sweden, by which all the members of that senate were condemned to lose their nobility and forfeit their estates. What is very singular is, that he caused this arret to be confirmed by the emperor Maximilian, and that this emperor wrote to the estates of Sweden in 1505, telling them that they were to pay obedience to that ordinance, or else he would proceed against them according to the laws of the empire. I do not know how Abbé Vertot, in his "Revolutions of Sweden," came to forget so important a transaction, which Puffendorf has so carefully preserved.

This fact is a plain proof that both the German emperors and the popes have always pretended to a universal jurisdiction. It also proves that the Danish king was willing to flatter Maximilian, whose daughter he afterward obtained for his son, Christian II. In this manner were rights established in those days. Maximilian's council wrote to the Swedes in the same manner as that of Charlemagne had done to the people of Benevento and Guienne: but he wanted the same number of forces and equal power with Charlemagne.

This Christian II., after the death of his father, took very different steps. Instead of applying to the imperial chamber for an arret, he obtained four thousand men of Francis I., king of France. Before this time the French had never engaged in any of the quarrels of the North. It is probable that Francis I., who aspired to the imperial dignity, was willing to gain a support in Denmark. The French troops fought several battles against the Swedes, under Christian, but were very badly recompensed for their services, being sent home without pay, and set upon in their return by the peasants, so that not more than three hundred men returned alive to France, the usual fate of all expeditions sent too far from their own country.

We shall see what a tyrant this Christian was, when we come to the article on "Lutheranism." One of his crimes proved the cause of his punishment, in the loss of his three kingdoms. He had lately made an agreement with an administrator created by the estates of Sweden, whose name was Sten Sture; but he seemed to fear this administrator less than he did the young Gustavus Vasa, nephew of King Canutson, a prince of the most enterprising courage, and the hero and idol of the Swedes; and pretending to be desirous of having a conference with the administrator in Stockholm, demanded of him, at the same time, to bring with him on board his fleet, then lying in the road, the young Gustavus, with six other noblemen as hostages. As soon as

they were on board he put them in irons, and made sail to Denmark with his prize. After this he made preparations for an open war, in which Rome took part. We will now see how she came to enter into it, and in what manner she was deceived.

Trolle, archbishop of Upsala — whose cruelties I shall relate when I come to speak of Lutheranism — who had been chosen primate by the clergy, confirmed by Pope Leo X., and was united in interest with Christian, was afterward deposed by the estates of Sweden, in 1517, and condemned to do perpetual penance in a monastery. For this the estates were excommunicated by the pope in the customary style. This excommunication, which was nothing in itself, was rendered very formidable by the power of Christian's arms.

There was at that time in Denmark a legate from the pope, named Arcemboldi, who had sold indulgences throughout the three kingdoms. Such had been the address of this priest, or the weakness of the people, that he had raised nearly two millions of florins in these countries, though the poorest in Europe, which he was going to send over to Rome; but Christian seized on them as a supply for the war he was carrying on against the excommunicated Danes. This war proved successful; Christian was acknowledged king, and Archbishop Trolle was reinstated in his dignity. It was after this restoration that the king and his primate gave that fatal feast

at Stockholm, at which he caused all the members of the senate, and a great many citizens, to be massacred. While these things were occurring, Gustavus escaped from his confinement and fled into Sweden. He was obliged to conceal himself for some time in the mountains of Dalecarlia, in the disguise of a peasant. He even worked in the mines, either for his subsistence, or to better conceal himself: but at length he made himself known to these savage people, who, being from their rustic simplicity utter strangers to politics, held tyranny in the most detestable light. They agreed to follow him, and Gustavus soon saw himself at the head of an army. The use of firearms was not then at all known to these rude men, and but imperfectly to the Swedes. This always threw the victory on the side of the Danes; but Gustavus, having bought a number of muskets upon his own account, at Lübeck, soon engaged them upon an equality.

Lübeck not only furnished him with arms, but it likewise sent him troops, without which Gustavus could not have succeeded; so that the fate of Sweden depended on a simple trading city. Christian was at that time in Denmark, and the archbishop of Upsala sustained the whole weight of the war against this deliverer of his country. At length, by an event not very common, the party which had justice on its side prevailed; and Gustavus, after several unsuccessful attempts, beat the tyrant's lieutenants, and remained master of part of the country.

1521 — Christian, grown furious by this disgrace, committed an action which, even after what we have already seen of him, appears an almost incredible piece of wickedness. He for a long time had the mother and sister of Gustavus in his power at Copenhagen, and now ordered these two princesses to be both sewed up in a sack, and thrown alive into the sea.

Though this tyrant was so well skilled in working his revenge, he did not know how to fight; and while he could murder two defenceless women, he did not dare to venture into Sweden to face Gustavus. At length the cruelties he had exercised upon his subjects, in common with his enemies, rendered him as detestable to the people of Copenhagen as to the Swedes.

As the Danes had the power of electing their kings, so they also had of punishing a tyrant. The first who renounced his authority were the people of Jutland, or the duchy of Schleswig. His uncle, Frederick, duke of Holstein, took advantage of this just insurrection of the people, and, right being supported by force, all the inhabitants of that part which formerly composed Chersonesus Cimbrica deputed the chief justice of Jutland to signify to the tyrant the sentence of deposition.

This intrepid magistrate had the resolution to carry the sentence to Christian in the midst of Copenhagen; the tyrant, finding all the rest of his kingdom wavering, himself hated even by his own offi-

cers, and not daring to trust anyone, received in his own palace like a criminal the sentence declared to him by a single man unarmed. The name of this magistrate deserves to be handed down to posterity: he was called Mons. "My name," he said, "ought to be written over the doors of all bad princes." The kingdom of Denmark acquiesced in the sentence, and there was never an instance of a revolution so just and sudden, and so quietly effected. The king deposed himself in 1523 by flying the kingdom and retiring into the dominions of his brother-in-law, Charles V., in Flanders, whose assistance he long implored.

His uncle Frederick was elected at Copenhagen, king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; but of this last he had only the title; for the Swedes chose Gustavus Vasa their king, who had made himself master of Stockholm about the same time and knew perfectly well how to defend the kingdom he had delivered. Christian, who, with Archbishop Trolle, was now a wanderer, made an attempt some few years afterward to get possession of some part of his dominions. He depended upon the assistance of a malcontent party in the kingdom, which is always the consequence of a new reign, and which he now found both in Sweden and Denmark: with these he entered Norway. Gustavus had introduced a change in the religion of the Swedes, and Frederick had permitted his Danes to change theirs. Christian professed himself a good Catholic, but

was not for that either a better prince, or a better general, or more beloved; so that in the end his enterprise proved ineffectual.

Abandoned at length by everyone, he suffered himself to be carried to Denmark in the year 1532, where he ended his days in a prison. Archbishop Trolle, who, prompted by a restless ambition, had prevailed on the city of Lübeck to take up arms against the Danes, died of wounds received in battle, and concluded his life with more glory than Christian; both of them merited a more tragical end.

Gustavus, the deliverer of his country, now enjoyed his honors in peace. He first convinced foreign nations what weight Sweden might have in the affairs of Europe, at a time when the politics of that country put on a new face, and they began to think of establishing a balance of power.

Francis I. made an alliance with him; and, notwithstanding that Gustavus was a Lutheran, sent him the collar of his order, though expressly against the statutes. Gustavus spent the remainder of his life in endeavoring to regulate his kingdom. It required all the prudence he was master of to secure his administration against the troubles likely to arise on account of the change he had made in religion. The Dalecarlians, who had been the first to assist him in mounting the throne, were the first to raise commotions. Their savage rusticity rendered them attached to the ancient customs of their church; and

they were Catholics in the same manner as they were barbarians, by birth and education, as may be conceived from a petition which they presented to him, wherein they desired the king would not wear any clothes made after the French fashion; and would order all those to be burned, who ate meat on a Friday: this last article was almost the only one in which the Lutherans were distinguished from the Catholics.

The king suppressed these first emotions, and established his religion by judiciously preserving the bishops, and at the same time diminishing their revenues and power. He showed a proper regard for the ancient laws of the kingdom, and caused his son Eric to be declared his successor, by the estates, in 1544; and he even procured the crown to remain in his family, on condition that if his race should become extinct the estates should again resume their right of election; and that if only a princess remained, she should be allowed a certain portion, without having any pretensions to the crown.

Such was the situation of affairs in the North, in the time of Charles V. The manners of all these people were simple, but austere, and their virtues were fewer, as their ignorance was greater. The titles of count, marquis, baron, and knight, and most of the other badges of vain glory had not found their way at all among the Swedes, and but very little among the Danes; but then the most useful inventions were likewise unknown to them. They

had no settled commerce, nor any manufactures. Gustavus Vasa, by drawing the Swedes from their state of obscurity, inspired the Danes by his example.

HUNGARY.

The constitution of this government was exactly the same as that of Poland. Its kings were elected by the diets: the palatine of Hungary had the same authority as the primate of Poland, and was moreover judge between the king and the nation. Such was formerly the power or privilege of the palatine of the empire, the mayor of the palace in France, and the justiciary of Aragon. We find that in all monarchies the regal power was in its beginning counterbalanced by some other.

The nobles had the same privileges as in Poland; I mean those of being screened from all punishment, and of disposing of the lives of their peasants or bondmen. The common people were slaves. The chief forces of this kingdom consisted in the cavalry, which was formed of the nobles and their followers. The infantry was composed of peasants gathered together, without order or discipline, who took the field in sowing time, and continued in it till harvest.

We may recollect that this kingdom first embraced Christianity about the year 1000. Stephen, the chief of the Hungarians, who was desirous of being made king, employed on this occasion the force of arms and religion. Pope Sylvester II. gave him not only the title of king, but also of apostolic king. Some

writers say that it was John XVIII. or XIX. who conferred these two honors on Stephen, in the year 1003 or 1004. Such discussions, however, have nothing to do with the end of my inquiries. I shall, therefore, content myself with observing that, on account of this title having been conferred by a bull, the popes pretend to exact a tribute from the Hungarians, and that it is in virtue of the term "apostolic" that the kings of Hungary claim the right to bestow all the church benefices in the kingdom.

We may observe that kings, and even whole nations, have been governed by certain prejudices. The chief of a warlike people did not dare to assume the title of king without the pope's permission. This kingdom, and that of Poland likewise, were governed on the model of the Germanic Empire; and yet the kings of Poland and Hungary, though they made counts, had never dared to create dukes, and were so far from taking the title of majesty that they were at that time only styled, "Your excellency."

The emperors even looked upon Hungary as a fief of the empire, and Conrad the Salic actually received homage and tribute from King Peter; while the popes on their side maintained that they had a right to bestow this crown, because they were the first who gave the title of king to the chief of the Hungarian nation.

And here it will be necessary to take a short retrospect of those times, when the house of France,

which had furnished kings to Portugal, England, and Naples, also beheld one of its branches seated on the throne of Hungary.

About the year 1290, this throne being vacant, the emperor Rudolph of Hapsburg gave the investiture of it to his son, Albert of Austria, as he would bestow a common fief. Pope Nicholas IV., on his side, conferred this kingdom as a church benefice on the grandson of the famous Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, who was king of Naples and Sicily. This nephew of St. Louis was called Charles Martel, and laid claim to the kingdom because his mother, Mary of Hungary, was sister of the last deceased king of Hungary. With a free people it is not being a relative of the king that can confer a title to the throne; and the Hungarians accepted neither the sovereign nominated by the emperor nor him whom the pope appointed for them; but fixed upon Andrew, surnamed the Venetian, a prince who was also of the blood royal. Upon this there followed excommunications and wars; but after his death, and that of his competitor, Charles Martel, the decree of the Roman tribunal was carried into execution.

Boniface VIII., in 1303, four months before the affront he received from the king of France, the grief for which is said to have occasioned his death, had the honor to see the cause of the house of Anjou brought before his tribunal. Mary, queen of Naples, spoke in person before the consistory; and Boniface

bestowed Hungary on Prince Charles Robert of Anjou, son of Charles Martel, and grandson of this Mary.

1308 — This Charles Robert was in fact king by the pope's favor, and maintained upon the throne by his interest and his sword. The kingdom of Hungary became more powerful under him than the emperors, who looked upon it as one of their fiefs. He annexed to his kingdom the provinces of Dalmatia, Croatia, Servia, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, which had been rent from it at different times.

His son, Louis, brother to that Andrew, king of Hungary, whom his wife, Joan of Naples, caused to be strangled, still further increased the Hungarian power. He went to Naples to avenge his brother's murder, and assisted Charles Durazzo to dethrone Queen Joan, but without being in any way instrumental in the cruel manner in which Durazzo caused that unhappy princess to be put to death. After his return to Hungary he acquired true glory, by doing justice to his people, enacting wise laws, and abolishing the custom of trial by ordeal, which was always in the greatest credit when the people were most civilized.

We have all along observed that there never was a truly great man who was not a lover of letters. This prince cultivated geometry and astronomy, and countenanced the other arts: it is to this philosophic genius, so rare at that time, that we are to attribute

the abolition of those superstitious trials. A king who was master of sound reasoning was a prodigy in those countries. His courage was equal to his other qualifications: he was beloved by his own subjects, and admired by strangers. Toward the latter part of his life, in 1370, the Poles made choice of him for their king: he reigned happily in Hungary forty years, and in Poland twelve years. His people gave him the surname of the Great, which he well deserved; and yet this prince is hardly known in Europe, because he did not reign over men capable of transmitting his fame and virtues to other nations. How few know that in the fourteenth century there was a Louis the Great in the Carpathian mountains!

He was so much beloved that the estates, in 1382, bestowed the crown on his daughter Mary, not then marriageable, by the title of *King Mary,* a title which has in our time been renewed in favor of a daughter of the last emperor of the house of Austria.

This all serves to show that if in hereditary kingdoms the people sometimes find reason to complain of a despotic abuse of the supreme power, elective states are on their part exposed to still more violent storms, and that even liberty itself, which is so natural and inestimable a blessing, is sometimes productive of great misfortunes.

Young King Mary and her kingdom were both under the government of her mother, Elizabeth of Bosnia, who, being disagreeable to the grandees,

they made use of their right, and placed the crown on another head, making Charles Durazzo, surnamed the Little, king; who was descended in a direct line from St. Louis's brother, who reigned in the two Sicilies. Charles arrived at Naples, from Buda, and was solemnly crowned in 1386, and acknowledged king by Elizabeth herself.

We now come to one of those strange events with regard to which the laws are wholly silent, and leave us in doubt whether it may not be a crime even to punish vice.

Elizabeth and her daughter Mary, after having lived in as good correspondence with Durazzo as it was possible to do with a person who was in possession of their crown, invited him to their apartment, where they caused him to be murdered in their presence; after which they prevailed on the people to join them, and young Mary, who was still directed by her mother, resumed the crown.

Some time afterward Elizabeth and Mary made a journey into Lower Hungary, and on their way imprudently passed through the lands of the count of Hornac, who was ban of Croatia. This ban was what they call in Hungary a supreme count, who has the command of armies, and the executing of justice. This nobleman was particularly attached to the murdered king; was it then, or was it not, lawful for him to avenge the death of his king? He soon came to a resolution, and seemed to consult only justice in the cruelty of his revenge; he caused

the two queens to be tried, after which he ordered Elizabeth to be drowned, and kept Mary in prison, as the less guilty of the two.

At the same time Sigismund, who was afterward emperor, entered Hungary, and espoused Queen Mary. The ban of Croatia, who thought himself sufficiently powerful, had the boldness to carry that princess himself to Sigismund, after having drowned her mother, thinking, as we may suppose, that he had done only an act of severe justice; but Sigismund ordered his flesh to be torn off with red-hot pincers, and he died in the most dreadful torments. His death caused an insurrection of the nobles of Hungary; and this whole reign was one continued succession of troubles and factions.

It is possible to reign over a great number of states, and yet not be a powerful prince; this Sigismund was, at one and the same time, emperor, and king of Bohemia and Hungary: but in Hungary he was beaten by the Turks, and once confined in prison by his subjects, who had revolted against him. In Bohemia he was almost continually at war with the Hussites; and in the empire his authority was almost always counterbalanced by the prerogatives of the grandees, and the privileges of the great cities.

In 1438 Albert of Austria, son-in-law of Sigismund, was the first prince of the house of Austria who had reigned in Hungary.

This Albert was, like Sigismund, both emperor and king of Bohemia, but he did not reign above

three years; and this short reign was the cause of intestine divisions, which, together with the irruption of the Turks, depopulated Hungary, and made it one of the most miserable countries in the world.

The Hungarians, who always preserved their liberty, would not accept for their king a child which Albert of Austria left at his death, but chose Uladislaus, or Ladislaus, king of Poland, who, in 1444, lost the famous battle of Varna, together with his life, as has been before related.

Frederick III. of Austria, who was emperor in 1440, took the title of King of Hungary, but never was so in reality. He kept the son of Albert of Austria, whom I shall call Ladislaus Albert, prisoner in Vienna, while John Huniades was making head in Hungary against Mahomet II., who conquered so many states. This John Huniades was not king, but he was general and idol of a free and warlike people, and no king ever possessed a more absolute power.

After his death the house of Austria had the crown of Hungary. This Ladislaus Albert was elected king, and caused one of the sons of this John Huniades, the avenger of his country, to be put to death by the hands of the executioner: but, with a free people, tyranny never goes unpunished: Ladislaus was driven from a throne which he had stained with such illustrious blood, and paid for his cruelty by perpetual exile.

There still remained a son of the great Huniades:

this was Matthias Corvinus, whom the Hungarians, with great difficulty, and not without paying a large sum of money, rescued out of the hands of the house of Austria. This prince waged war with the emperor Frederick III. and the Turk, from the former of whom he took Austria, and drove the latter out of Upper Hungary.

After his death, which happened in 1490, the house of Austria was continually endeavoring to add Hungary to its other dominions. The emperor Maximilian, even though he had again entered Vienna, could not obtain this kingdom, which was bestowed upon another Ladislaus, a king of Bohemia, whom I shall call Ladislaus of Bohemia.

The Hungarians, after the example of the nobles of Poland, and the electors of the empire, in thus choosing their own kings, always limited the royal authority; but it must be acknowledged that the Hungarian nobles were petty tyrants, who would not suffer a greater tyrant over them; their liberty was no other than a fatal independency, and they reduced the rest of the nation to such a wretched state of slavery that the peasants and common people, being unable longer to support such continual oppressions, took up arms against these cruel masters; and a civil war, which lasted four years, still further weakened this unhappy kingdom. At length the nobles, being better provided with arms and money than the peasants, gained the mastery; and this war ended in redoubled miseries to the people

who to this day continue the actual slaves of the grandees.

A country which had been so long a prey to devastation, and where there remained only a slavish and discontented people, under masters almost always at variance among themselves, was no longer able of itself to resist the arms of the Turkish sultans. Accordingly we find that when young Louis II., son of Ladislaus of Bohemia, and father-in-law of Charles V., attempted to oppose the arms of Solyman, the whole kingdom of Hungary was not able to furnish him with an army of more than thirty thousand fighting men. One Tomori, a Franciscan friar, who was general of this army, in which there were five other bishops, promised Louis the victory; but this whole army was cut to pieces in the famous battle of Mohács, in 1526, and the king himself slain. After this victory Solyman overran all this wretched kingdom, and carried two hundred thousand captives away with him.

Nature in vain furnished this country with gold mines, and the more substantial riches of corn and wine; in vain she formed its inhabitants robust, well-made, and ingenious; nothing now remained to the view but a vast desert, with ruined cities, and fields tilled with sword in hand, villages dug underground, in which the inhabitants buried themselves with their provisions and cattle, and a few fortified castles, for the sovereignty of which the possessors

were always in arms against the Turks and the Germans.

There were likewise several other fine countries of Europe that were desolated, and lay uncultivated and uninhabited; such as one-half of Dalmatia, the north of Poland, the banks of the Tanais, and the fruitful country of the Ukraine, while search was being made after other lands in a new world, and as far as the limits of the old.

SCOTLAND.

In this sketch of the political government of the North, I must not forget Scotland, of which I shall speak further when I come to treat of the article of religion.

Scotland had rather a greater share in the system of Europe than the other nations of the North, because, being at enmity with the English, who were always endeavoring to subject it, it had for a long time been in alliance with France, whose kings could easily prevail upon the Scotch to take arms in their favor whenever it was necessary; and we find that Francis I. sent no more than thirty thousand crowns — which makes about one hundred and thirty thousand of our present livres — to the party who were to get war declared against the English in 1543. In fact, Scotland is so poor, that even at this time, when it is united with England, it pays only the fortieth part of the subsidies of the two kingdoms.

A poor state which has a rich one for its neigh-

bor must at length become venal: but as long as this country kept itself free, it was formidable. The English, who under Henry II. conquered Ireland with so much ease, could never subdue Scotland; and Edward III., who was a great warrior and a deep politician, though he conquered it could never keep it. There always subsisted a jealousy and hatred between the Scotch and the English, not unlike that between the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The house of Stuart had sat on the throne of Scotland ever since the year 1370: never was there a more unfortunate family. James I., after having been prisoner in England eighteen years, was murdered by his subjects in 1444, and James II. was killed in the unfortunate expedition to Roxburgh, when he was only twenty-nine years of age. James III., before he was thirty-five was slain by his own subjects in a pitched battle. James IV., son-in-law of Henry VII., king of England, fell at the age of thirty-nine in a battle against the English, in the year 1513, after a very unfortunate reign; and James V. died in the flower of his age, in the year 1542, when he was not quite thirty.

We shall see that the daughter of James V. was still more unfortunate than any of her predecessors, and added to the number of those queens who have died by the hands of the executioner. James VI., her son, became afterward king of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and through the weakness of his intellect laid the foundations of those revolutions

which afterward brought the head of Charles I. to the block, and drove James VII. into exile, and still keeps this unfortunate family outcasts and wanderers from their own country. The most favorable times for this house were during the reigns of Charles V. and Francis V. James V., who was father of Mary Stuart, sat on the throne of Scotland; and after his death, his widow, Mary of Lorraine, mother of this Mary, was appointed regent of the kingdom, and it was during her administration that the troubles first began to break out under pretence of religion, as we shall hereafter see.

I shall not dwell any longer on this review of the kingdoms of the North in the sixteenth century; having already examined the terms on which Germany, England, France, Italy, and Spain, stood with one another, I have hereby acquired a sufficient introductory knowledge to the interests of the North and South, and shall now examine more particularly into the state of Europe.

CHAPTER XCIX.

GERMANY AND THE EMPIRE.

The western empire still subsisted in name; but it had been for a long time only a burdensome title, as may appear from its having been refused by the ambitious Edward III. of England, when offered to him by the electors, in 1348. Charles IV., who was looked upon as the lawgiver of the empire, could

not obtain permission of Pope Innocent VI. and the barons of Rome to be crowned emperor in that city until he had promised not to lie a night within the walls. His famous Golden Bull, by limiting the number of electors, restored some order in Germany, which had before been a continued scene of anarchy. This law was, at its first institution, considered as fundamental, but has since been frequently departed from. In his time all the cities of Lombardy were actually free and independent of the empire excepting only in some particular rights. Every lord in Germany and Lombardy remained sovereign of his own territories during all the succeeding reigns.

The times of Wenceslaus, Robert, Josse, and Sigismund were times of darkness, in which there appeared no trace of the imperial dignity, except in the Council of Constance, which was assembled by Sigismund, and in which that emperor shone forth in full glory.

The emperors had no longer any demesnes, having ceded them at different times to the bishops and cities, either to procure themselves a support against the power of the lords of great fiefs, or to raise money. They had now nothing left but the subsidy of the Roman months, which was paid only in time of war, and for defraying the expenses of the vain ceremony of the emperor's coronation at Rome, which still subsisted. It was absolutely necessary, therefore, to elect a chief who was powerful of himself, and this first brought the sceptre into the house

of Austria. A prince was wanting, whose dominions might on the one hand have a communication with Italy, and on the other be capable of opposing the incursions of the Turks; and this advantage Germany found in Albert II., who was duke of Austria, and king of Bohemia and Hungary; this first fixed the imperial dignity in his house, and the throne became hereditary, without ceasing to be elective. Albert and his successors were chosen on account of the large dominions they possessed; and Rudoph of Hapsburg, one of the stocks of that house, had formerly been selected because he had none. The reason of this seeming contradiction is obvious; Rudolph was elected at a time when the houses of Saxony and Suabia had given reason to fear their becoming despotic, and Albert II., when the house of Austria was thought sufficiently powerful to defend the empire, and yet not to enslave it.

Frederick III. ascended the imperial throne by this title. Germany was in his time in a state of inability and peace. It was not so powerful as it might have been; and we have already seen that this prince was very far from being the sovereign of Christendom, as his epitaph imports.

Maximilian I., while he was yet only king of the Romans, began his career in the most glorious manner by the victory of Guinegate, which he gained over the French in 1479, and the treaty he made with them in 1492, by which he secured the possession of Franche-Comté, Artois, and Charolais. But as he

drew nothing from the Low Countries, which belonged to his son, Philip the Fair, nor from the people of Germany, and very little from his dominions in France, he would never have been of any consideration in Italy had it not been for the League of Cambray, and Louis XII., who did everything for him.

At first the pope and the Venetians prevented him, in the year 1508, from coming to Rome to be crowned emperor; and he took the title of emperor-elect, as he could not be crowned emperor by the pope. We see him after the League of Cambray, and in the year 1513, receiving the daily pension of a hundred crowns from the English king, Henry VIII. His German dominions furnished him with men to take the field against the Turks, but he wanted those riches with which France, England, and Italy carried on their wars at that time.

Germany had become in reality a republic of princes and cities, notwithstanding that its chief in his edicts spoke in the strain of absolute master of the whole world. It had been divided in the year 1500 into six circles; and the directors of these circles being sovereign princes, and the generals and colonels paid by the provinces and not by the emperor, this establishment, by linking together the several parts of the empire, secured the liberty of the whole. The imperial chamber, which had the passing of final judgment, being paid by the princes and cities, and not having its seat in the particular

demesnes of the monarch, proved another support to the public liberty. It is true it could never carry its decrees into execution against powerful princes, unless seconded by the empire; but this very abuse of liberty was a proof of its real existence; this is so notorious that the aulic court, which was first formed in 1512, and was entirely under the direction of the emperors, soon proved the strongest support of their authority.

Germany, under this form of government, was at that time as happy a state as any in the world. Inhabited by a warlike people, who were capable of the greatest military operations, there was no probability of the Turks being ever able to subdue it. Its lands were good, and so well cultivated that the inhabitants were at least under no necessity, as formerly, of seeking for other settlements: at the same time they were neither so rich nor so poor, nor so united, as to be in a condition to make the conquest of all Italy.

But what were at that time its pretensions upon Italy and the Roman Empire? The same as those of the Othos and the imperial house of Suabia had been; the same as those which had cost such a deluge of blood and which had undergone so many alterations since Julius II., who was patriarch as well as pontiff of Rome, had the imprudence, instead of rousing the ancient Roman courage, to call in the assistance of foreigners. Rome had nothing left but to repent of her folly; for since that time there

had always been a private war between the empire and the pontificate, as well as between the pretensions of the emperor and the liberties of the Italian provinces. The title of Cæsar was only a source of contested rights, undetermined disputes, exterior grandeur, and real weakness. These times were no longer those in which the Othos created kings, and imposed tributes on them. If Louis XII. had maintained a good understanding with the Venetians, instead of taking up arms against them, the emperors would, in all probability, never have set foot again in Italy. But from the divisions among the Italian princes, and the nature of the pontifical government, it unavoidably happened that a great part of this country was always to be a prey to foreigners.

CHAPTER C.

CUSTOMS OF THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES, AND THE STATE OF THE LIBERAL ARTS.

We find that there are few absolute sovereigns in Europe; the emperors before Charles V. had never ventured to aim at despotic power. The popes, though much more the masters of Rome than formerly, had much less power in the Church; the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, like the other kingdoms in the North, were elective; and an election necessarily supposes a contract between prince and people. The kings of England could neither make laws nor break them, without the consent of

their parliaments. Isabella of Castile had acknowledged the rights of the Cortes, which were all the estates of the kingdom. Ferdinand the Catholic, of Aragon, had not been able to abolish the authority of the grand justiciary of that kingdom, who looked upon himself as entitled to be the judge of kings. France alone was changed into a state purely monarchical, after the reign of Louis XI. A happy form of government when a king like Louis XII. appeared, who, by his love for his people, made amends for all the faults he committed with regard to other nations.

The civil government of Europe was greatly improved by the stop which had everywhere been put to the private wars between the feudal lords. The custom of duels, however, was still continued.

The popes by their decrees, which were always wise, and, what is more, always beneficial to Christendom, when their own private interests were not concerned, had anathematized these combats; but they were still permitted by several of the bishops; and the parliaments of Paris sometimes ordered them; witness the famous one between Legris and Carrouges, in the reign of Charles V. There were several other duels fought by order of the courts. The same evil practice was likewise kept up in Germany, Italy, and Spain, with the sanction of certain forms, which were looked upon as essential; particularly that of confessing and taking the sacraments before they prepared for murder. The good

Chevalier Bayard always heard a mass before he went into the field to fight a duel. The combatants always chose a second, who was to take care that their weapons were equal, and to make diligent search that neither of them had any spell about him; for nothing on earth was so credulous as a knight.

Some of these knights have been known to leave their own country and go into foreign parts in search of a duel, without any other motive than that of signalizing themselves. Duke John of Bourbon, in the year 1414, caused it to be proclaimed that he was going to England with sixteen other knights, to fight to extremity, that he might avoid idleness and merit the favor of the fair lady whom he served.

Tournaments, though condemned by the popes, were practised everywhere. They always went by the name of *Ludi Gallici,* or the French games; because one Geoffrey de Preuilly had, in the eleventh century, published a body of rules to be observed in them. Upward of one hundred knights had been killed in these games; but this only served to make them more in vogue.

It was thought that the death of Henry II., who was killed at a tournament held in 1599, would have abolished this custom forever; but the idle lives of the great, long use, and the passions revived these games at Orleans, in less than a year after the tragical death of Henry; when Henry of Bourbon, duke of Montpensier and a prince of the blood lost his life by a fall from his horse. After

this an entire stop was put to tournaments; but a faint image of them remained in the *Pas d'Armes,* held by Charles IX. and Henry III., the year after the massacre of St. Bartholomew: for in those bloody times they always intermixed feats and diversions with their barbarous proscriptions. This *Pas d'Armes* was not attended with any danger, as the combatants did not engage with sharp weapons. There was no tournament held on the marriage of the duke of Joyeuse, in 1581. The word "tournament" is therefore very improperly given by L'Étoile in his "Journal," to the show exhibited on this occasion. The grandees did not fight at all; and what L'Étoile calls a tournament was only a warlike ballet or interlude, exhibited in the gardens of the Louvre, by a company of hired performers; and was a performance given to the court, and not given by the court itself. The games which still continued to go by the name of tournaments were only carousals.

We may, therefore, date the suppression of tournaments from the year 1560. With these games expired the ancient spirit of chivalry, which never appeared again but in romances. This kind of spirit was very prevalent in the time of Francis I. and Charles V. Francis was a knight in the true sense of the word, and Charles aimed at being such. They would give each other the lie in public, and afterward meet in the most friendly manner; and it is known that the emperor put himself into the hands

of the king of France upon no other security than that of his word of honor, which the king was not capable of violating. There are several occurrences in the reigns of these two princes which savor greatly of the heroic and fabulous ages; but Charles V. approached nearer to our modern times in the refinement of his politics.

The art of war, the law of arms, and the offensive and defensive weapons made use of in those days were entirely different from what they are at present.

The emperor Maximilian had introduced the arms made use of by the Macedonian phalanx, which were spears of eighteen feet in length, and were used by the Swiss in the wars of Milan; but they were soon laid aside for the two-handed sword.

The harquebus, or firelock, had become a necessary weapon against the steel ramparts by which the gendarmerie of those days were defended. No helmet or cuirass was proof against these. The gendarmerie, which they called the battalion, fought on foot as well as on horseback: the French gendarmerie was in most estimation in the fifteenth century.

The German and Spanish infantry were reputed the best. The war-cry was almost everywhere laid aside.

As to the government of states at this time, I find cardinals at the head of the administration in almost every kingdom. In Spain I see Cardinal Ximenes, who ruled under Isabella of Castile during her life; and after her death was appointed regent of the king-

dom, who, always clad in the habit of a Franciscan friar, placed his chief pride in treading under foot the Spanish grandeur; who raised an army at his own expense, and afterward led it in person into Africa and took the city of Oran; in a word, who had made himself absolute, till young Charles V. drove him from the helm of power and obliged him to retire to his archbishopric of Toledo, where he died of grief.

In France, I see Louis XII. governed by Cardinal d'Amboise, and Cardinal Duprat prime minister to Francis I. Henry VIII. of England was, for the space of twenty years, entirely under the direction of Cardinal Wolsey, a man as vainglorious as d'Amboise, and who, like him, wanted to be pope, and, like him, failed in the attempt. Charles V. made his preceptor, Cardinal Adrian, who was afterward pope, his prime minister in Spain; and Cardinal de Granvelle had afterward the government of Flanders. Lastly, Cardinal Martinusius was master of Hungary, under Ferdinand, brother of Charles V.

Though we see so many military states governed by churchmen, this did not proceed merely from those princes being more ready to place their confidence in a priest, of whose power they could stand in no apprehension, than in the general of an army, who might in time become formidable to them; but also, because the churchmen were generally men of more knowledge, and more capable of managing

public affairs than either the military officers or the courtiers.

It was not till this century that those cardinals, who were the king's subjects, took precedency of the chancellor of the kingdom. They disputed it with the electors of the empire, and yielded it to the chancellors in France and England; and this again is one of those contradictions which pride had introduced into the republic of Christendom. By the registers of the English parliament we find that Lord Chancellor Warham had precedence of Cardinal Wolsey till the year 1516.

The title of majesty began now to be assumed by kings, and the ranks of the several sovereigns were settled at Rome. The first place was, without contradiction, assigned to the emperor; after him came the king of France, without a competitor; the kings of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and Sicily took rank in turns with the king of England; then came Scotland, Hungary, Navarre, Cyprus, Bohemia, and Poland; and, last of all, Denmark and Sweden. Great disputes arose afterward from this settling of the precedency. The kings, almost to a man, wanted to be equal in rank with each other; but not one of them attempted to dispute the chief place with the emperors, who thus preserved their rank while they lost their authority.

All the customs in civil life were different from ours; the doublet and short cloak was the common dress in all courts. The gentlemen of the law every-

where wore a long and close robe, which fell half way down their legs.

In the time of Francis I. there were but two coaches in the city of Paris; one for the queen and the other for Diana of Poitiers. The men and women all rode on horseback.

Riches were now so much increased that Henry VIII. of England, in 1519, promised three hundred and thirty-three thousand gold crowns in dowry with his daughter, Mary, who was to be married to the son of Francis I. This was a larger sum than had ever yet been given by anyone.

The interview between Francis I. and Henry was a long time famous for its magnificence. Their camp was called the "Field of the Cloth of Gold;" but this momentary parade, this stretch of luxury, did not imply that general magnificence, nor those useful contrivances which are so common in our times, and which so far exceed the pomp of a single day. The hand of industry had not then changed their sorry wooden dwellings into sumptuous palaces; the thatched roofs and mud walls still remained in the streets of Paris. The houses in London were still worse built, and the manner of living there harder. The greatest noblemen, when they went into the country, carried their wives behind them on horseback; princesses themselves travelled in no other manner, or covered with a riding-cloak of waxed cloth in rainy weather; and this dress they wore even when they went to the palace. This

custom continued till the middle of the seventeenth century. The magnificence of Francis I., Charles V., Henry VIII., and Leo X. was only for days of public solemnity; whereas, at present, the shows and entertainments which we see every day, the number of gilt coaches, and the multitude of lamps which are lighted up during the night-time in the streets of all our great cities, exhibit far greater riches and plenty than the most brilliant ceremonies of the monarchs of the sixteenth century.

In the reign of Louis XII. they first began to substitute gold and silver stuffs, in room of the costly furs they were formerly wont to wear. These stuffs were the manufactures of Italy, there being none made at that time in Lyons. Gold work was in general very clumsy, Louis XII. having by an ill-judged sumptuary law forbidden its use throughout his kingdom; so that the French were obliged to send to Venice for all their plate. By this means the goldsmiths were all reduced to poverty; and Louis XII. at length wisely revoked this law.

Francis I., who in the latter part of his life became an economist, prohibited the wearing of gold and silver stuffs, which prohibition was afterward renewed by Henry II., but had these laws been strictly observed they would have ruined the manufactures of Lyons. What chiefly determined the government to enact these laws was the consideration of being obliged to have all the silk from foreigners. In the reign of Henry II., none but bishops were per-

mitted to wear silk. The princes and princesses had the distinguishing privileges of wearing dresses of red silk or woollen stuff. At length, in the year 1563, none but princes and bishops were allowed to wear shoes made of silk.

All these sumptuary laws only show that the views of the government were very narrow, and that the ministers thought it easier to put a check on industry than to encourage it.

Mulberry trees were then cultivated only in Italy and Spain, and gold wire was made nowhere but at Milan and Venice; and yet the French fashions had already insinuated themselves into the courts of Germany, England, and Lombardy. The Italian historians complain that after the journey which Charles VIII. made into Italy, the people affected to dress themselves after the French fashion, and sent to France for all their ornaments.

Pope Julius II. was the first who let his beard grow, in order to inspire the people with a greater respect for his person by a singularity of appearance. Francis I., Charles V., and all the other kings followed this example, which was immediately adopted by their courtiers: but those of the long robe, who always keep to the ancient customs, whatever they are, still continued to shave their beards, while the young military people affected an air of gravity and age. This is a trifling observation; but it claims a place in the history of customs.

But that which is more worthy the attention of

posterity, and of far greater consideration than all the customs introduced by caprice, all the laws which time has abolished, or the disputes of crowned heads, which cease with themselves, is the reputation of the arts, which will never cease. This reputation was, during the sixteenth century, the lot of Italy alone. Nothing more strongly calls to our mind the idea of ancient Greece; for as the arts flourished in Greece in the midst of foreign and domestic wars, so they did likewise in Italy, and almost all of them were carried to a height of perfection at the time when Rome was sacked by the troops of Charles V., its coasts laid waste by the incursions of Barbarossa, and the heart of the country rent in pieces by the dissensions between the princes and the republics.

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